

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SWIFT AND MR. JOHN TEMPLE¹

I

Basically, the feelings between Swift and Sir William Temple were probably cordial. Professor Woodbridge has disproved the tradition of mutual diffidence and resentment.² But he has not settled some problems. Why was Temple hesitant to forward his protégé's independent career? If he was angry with Swift for leaving his employ in 1694, why had he recommended Swift for a position in 1691? Part of the explanation for such inconsistencies lies in an event which has been slighted by biographers: perhaps only a couple of months before Swift joined the Temple household, Sir William's son John drowned himself.

That suicide ended Temple's role as a father. Although he was devoted to his children,³ he lost all nine. Their deaths—to judge from reports of his reactions to such losses—were intense shocks to him,⁴ especially those of Diana and John Temple. And his misfortunes seriously affected his conduct.⁵ Sir William had, Lady

¹ Throughout this paper the author is indebted to the late Professor W. T. Morgan of Indiana University for bibliographical guidance.

² Homer E. Woodbridge, *Sir William Temple* (New York, 1940), pp. 219-40 and *passim*.

³ His sister calls him "an extream fond father" and "a fond and indulgent Father," also describing him as pleased by children's way of talking (Sir William Temple, *The Early Essays and Romances*, ed. G. C. M. Smith, Oxford, 1930, pp. 192n, 28, 29).

⁴ His sister characterizes him as "wounded to the heart by griefe especially upon losses of his friends and children"; she reports that the death of his uncle, Dr. Hammond, in 1660, made Temple fall "quite sick" (Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29).

⁵ Woodbridge infers from Lady Giffard's comments that the deaths of

Giffard reiterates, been "infinitely fond" of his fourteen-year-old daughter⁶ and was so shaken for weeks after her death that he was unable to manage his affairs properly. "The truth is" he wrote, "my heart is so broken with a blow I received in the most sensible part of it that I have done nothing since as I should do, and I fear never shall again."⁷

Two aspects of John Temple's life are relevant to this inquiry: his father's sponsorship of his political activity and his father's attitude toward him. Miss Longe—who, though quite unreliable, worked from some documents as yet unpublished—says John Temple's career was dominated by Sir William. She concludes that "though employed in various minor but delicate transactions he [John Temple] never seems to have made his mark, and was morbidly conscientious."⁸

The father certainly did not discourage his son. When the boy was barely nineteen (February 12, 1673-74), a ready offer of his services was sent by Sir William to Gourville, the unscrupulous French diplomatist, whose true nature Sir William evidently failed to appreciate.⁹ About half a year later (September 4, 1674) Sir William wrote of leaving the heats of the political scene to his son and urged Danby to entrust the ambitious youth with confidential messages: "tho' he be young . . . he may be trusted . . . for he has a good plain, steady head, and is desirous to do well."¹⁰ In a few months (on December 4, 1674) he was joking about the young man's zeal in serving under a visiting statesman. John, he wrote, seemed likely to "take notice of us no longer, having the honour of being absolutely retained in my Lord Latimer's service since his arrival here."¹¹ When the king wished Sir William to become secretary of state in June, 1667, John carried the letters of request from Danby,¹² the type of mission which Sir William's brother, Sir John Temple, had on occasion performed for him. And when the father left for England the following

the five children in Ireland upset Temple so much that he may have engaged in public affairs to soften his grief (Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 53).

⁶ Temple, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 21.

⁷ Edward R. Turner, *The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Baltimore, 1927), I, 446.

⁸ Julia G. Longe, *Martha Lady Giffard* (London, 1911), p. 150.

⁹ Temple, *Works* (London, 1757), IV, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² Temple, *Works*, II, 407.

month (July 5, 1677), the son accompanied him.¹³ In 1680 Sir William sent him to acquaint Charles II with Sir William's "resolutions to pass the remainder of my life like as good a private subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any public employment."¹⁴

However, the implications of this promise seem to have been broadened when it was renewed, in November, 1686, to James II.¹⁵ Lady Giffard indicates that Sir William had resolved never to involve himself in any illegal affairs or attempts to make divisions in the royal family. He apparently imposed this resolution upon his son, for he refused to let John ("who had bin very uneasy to be denied the leave he had soe impatiently begged of his Father to meet the Prince of Orange at his landing") aid William III officially before the king's coronation, April 11, 1689.¹⁶ On the following day, however, John replaced William Blathwayt as secretary of war.¹⁷ He does not seem to have been particularly well qualified for this office,¹⁸ which in the main was doubtless a token of the king's esteem for Sir William.¹⁹ Early one evening within a week of this appointment—probably about six o'clock, Friday, April 19, 1689—John Temple jumped out of a boat on the Thames near London Bridge and was drowned, thus ending a history which seems to corroborate Miss Longe's generalizations.²⁰

¹³ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

¹⁴ Temple, *Works*, II, 243-44.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 540; *Early Essays*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁶ *Early Essays*, p. 24.

¹⁷ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857), I, 521.

¹⁸ See [Guillaume de Lamberty,] *Memoires de la derniere revolution d'Angleterre* (La Haye, 1702), II, 291-92; also *Correspondence of the Family of Hatton*, ed. E. M. Thompson (London, 1878), II, 133.

¹⁹ Emile Pons writes that John Temple's secretariat was a position "que son père lui avait fait attribuer" (*Swift; les années de jeunesse*, Paris, 1925, p. 137n).

²⁰ The most detailed account of the suicide is that of Lamberty (*op. cit.*, pp. 290-93), quoted, in translation and with omissions, by Abel Boyer (*Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir W. Temple*, London, 1714, pp. 414-18). Other apparently original versions occur in Luttrell, *op. cit.*, I, 524; Thompson (Hatton), *op. cit.*, II, 131-33; *The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. J. J. Cartwright (London, 1875), p. 458; Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *Correspondence*, ed. S. W. Singer (London, 1828), II, 274;

In one of two extant suicide notes John wrote that he had received from his father, sponsor of this disastrous career, "especially of late all the marks of tenderness in the world."²¹ Sir William had indeed been strongly attached to John from the boy's childhood. In a letter of about 1657 Lady Temple writes to Sir William, "I gave Jack the kiss you sent him and he mems [remembered his?] little duty and gave me another for you."²² In the April, 1683, dedication of the second part of his memoirs to John Temple, Sir William begins, "I do not remember ever to have refused any thing you have desired of me."²³ The father also expressed an anxiety that his own existence was obstructing his son's fortunes,²⁴ and in 1686 he "devided his little estate equally between his son & himselfe."²⁵

Family records are tactfully reticent about his reactions to the suicide, but he was probably overcome. Boyer calls it "the most grievous Accident that befel Sir *William Temple* in the whole Course of his Life, and under which a Man of less Fortitude and Philosophy than he, would certainly have sunk."²⁶ And Lady Giffard bears witness that his last ten years were overcast as a result of it:

with this deplorable accident ended all ye good fortunes so long taken note of in Sr W. T. famely & brought a cloud upon ye remainder of his life & a damp upon ye good humor so natural to him & so often observ'd yt nothing could ever recover.²⁷

Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time (Oxford, 1823), III, 352. The best analysis of the incident is in Woodbridge (*op. cit.*, pp. 216-18); but he does not use the *DNB*. spelling of William Blathwayt, and he follows Boyer in both misspelling Lamberty and giving inaccurately the title of his book, *Memoires de la derniere revolution*. The dates given for the suicide are April 19 (Thompson [Hatton] and Clarendon), 18 (Luttrell), and 14 (Lamberty and Boyer).

²¹ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 194.

²² *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, ed. G. C. M. Smith (Oxford, 1928), p. 202.

²³ Temple, *Works*, II, 243.

²⁴ See Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, *Diary of the Times of Charles the Second*, ed. R. W. Blencowe (London, 1843), II, 14-15; also Temple, *Works*, II, 244.

²⁵ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 23.

²⁶ Boyer, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

²⁷ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. xii.

Professor Woodbridge and T. P. Courtenay have disposed of the myth of Sir William's stoical indifference.²⁸

II

Jonathan Swift was probably part of the Temple household, temporarily at Sheen, by June, 1689 (two months after the drowning, if not sooner), while Sir William was still settling his son's affairs.²⁹ In the succeeding decade he twice left that household on his own business. The first absence lasted more than a year, from May, 1690, to the summer or autumn of 1691. The second extended from May, 1694, to May, 1696. According to the conventional interpretation of these separations Temple valued Swift almost exclusively as a secretary. At the time of the first absence Temple supposedly did not appreciate his assistant and therefore did not mind Swift's departure. By 1694, presumably, he had grown so dependent upon Swift's aid as to be angry with him for leaving.

Now if Temple was quite willing to see Swift go to Ireland in 1690, to recover from an illness, he was evidently eager to have him return in 1691; for Swift did so on an improved footing, being admitted to his patron's confidence and sent to Oxford in preparation for the priesthood. Since the original departure had been with Temple's connivance if not encouragement,³⁰ the affair is

²⁸ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18; T. P. Courtenay, *Memoirs of the Life, Works, and Correspondence of Sir William Temple* (London, 1836), II, 130-32.

²⁹ Both the place and the date of the beginning of Swift's first stay with Temple are disputed. Harold Williams proposes Moor Park "before the close" of 1689 (*The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams, Oxford, 1937, I, 4), apparently relying on John Forster, whose wording he uses (John Forster, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1875, I, 55); F. E. Ball suggests Moor Park in the spring of 1689 (*Swift's Verse*, London, 1929, p. 16); Ricardo Quintana gives Sheen in the spring of 1689 (*The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1936, p. 6); and Woodbridge and Pons argue for Sheen in June, 1689 (Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 219 and note). See also Arthur E. Case, "Swift and Sir William Temple—a Conjecture," *MLN.*, LX, 259-65.

In any event Swift surely began to live with the Temples very shortly after John Temple's suicide and probably while Sir William was still settling his son's affairs.

³⁰ See Temple's letter, recommending Swift to Sir Robert Southwell, in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910), I, 1-3.

suggestive of an indefinite vacation for reasons of health. This interpretation is strengthened by Swift's blaming the decision on the "advice of physicians, who weakly imagined that his native air might be of some use to recover his health,"³¹ and his implication that he had not wholly welcomed the plan. Temple would have agreed with the physicians, to judge from his advice to Henry Sidney in a similar situation³² and from the emphasis on climate in his essay, "Of Health and Long Life."³³ Perhaps, then, Temple encouraged Swift to experiment with the therapeutic effects of the Irish climate but was happy to take him in when the trial failed. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why Temple should have expedited a trip toward which Swift indicated some diffidence and yet have welcomed him back afterwards.

For 1694 the known facts are more complex. An understandable desire for independence had been growing in Swift until he wished to leave again.³⁴ Temple's anger with him over this reasonable decision is so incomprehensible that even the most cautious biographers have had to conjecture a quarrel between the two men in order to account for it.³⁵ If there was such a quarrel, it was not the cause but the excuse for Temple's displeasure. His underlying opposition to Swift's wishes is commonly attributed to Swift's indispensability as a secretary. This suggestion does not, however, jibe with the circumstances of Swift's return in 1696; for it was only at Temple's insistence that he went back to England.³⁶ It

³¹ *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1907), XI, 377.

³² "I cannot but wish you in some place that would be for your health" (Romney, *op. cit.*, II, 53).

³³ Temple, *Works*, III, 266-303. He names the northern Irish as one of several examples to demonstrate that "the natives and inhabitants of hilly and barren countries have not only more health in general, but also more vigour, than those of the plains" (p. 280).

³⁴ See Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 10, 12.

³⁵ Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, 2 ed. (London, 1894), I, 60; Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 72; Quintana, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8; Pons, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

³⁶ Swift writes to John Winder on April 1, 1698, "I have had, at least, three or four very wise letters . . . declaring much sorrow for my quitting Kilroot, blaming my prudence for doing it before I was possessed of something else"; the context suggests that he was considered to be doing himself an injustice by remaining with Temple (Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 22). Jane Swift writes to Deane Swift on May 26, 1699, that her brother's

seems unlikely that a mere secretary should in less than three years have so ingratiated himself with his employer that for two additional years the latter waited upon his change of heart.

Moreover, if Temple relied heavily upon him as a secretary, it is curious that Swift's presence had little observable effect upon Temple's literary production. According to the accepted opinion, the period from 1691 to 1694 should reveal a wealth of either compositions or publications, at least in comparison with the period before 1691. On the contrary, however, all except four of Temple's individual productions as listed by Woodbridge were written by 1691.³⁷ And of the remainder the major item, *An Introduction to the History of England*, was published late in 1694 or early in 1695,³⁸ while Swift was away and his cousin, Thomas Swift, was Temple's secretary. Indeed, nothing by Temple besides this one work and new editions of earlier books was published after 1691 until Swift's editions of the posthumous publications began to appear in 1701.³⁹

The chief quality which Swift was called upon to exhibit in his secretarial capacity was, Woodbridge intimates, his beautiful penmanship.⁴⁰ It seems likely that little of the copy upon which this talent was exercised occupied Swift's attention between 1690 and 1696. "Nothing of his [Temple's] ever printed in my time was from the original," wrote Swift to Lady Giffard in 1709.

The first Memoirs was from my copy; so were the second Miscellanea: so was the Introduction to the English History: so was every volume of

"best friend Sir William Temple . . . was so fond of him . . . that he made him give up his living in this country [Ireland], to stay with him at Moor Park, and promised to get him one in England" (*ibid.*, p. 30). Thomas Sheridan writes that Swift in 1696 received "a kind letter from Sir William himself, with an invitation to Moor-Park" (Thomas Sheridan, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1784, I, 20). And W. M. Mason, perhaps following Sheridan, writes that at this time Swift "was invited back by Sir William Temple, who, during his absence, became sensible how necessary Swift was to his existence" (William Monck Mason, *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1820, p. 235).

³⁷ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

³⁸ Professor Woodbridge has kindly written to me that the first edition is dated 1695 on the title page; however, the *Term Catalogues* (II, 379) list it under Michaelmas, 1694.

³⁹ Woodbridge, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Letters. They were all copied from the originals by Sir William Temple's direction, and corrected all along by his orders.⁴¹

Swift must have completed the transcriptions of the *Memoirs* and *Miscellanea* which he mentions, however, before going to Ireland in 1690, since the one was first published in 1691 and the other in 1690. Swift's edition of Temple's letters did not appear until after Temple's death, although he must have been occupied with them throughout his sojourn with Temple.

Thus from 1691 to 1694, when he was supposedly making major demands upon Swift's editorial skills, Temple neither wrote nor published any of his significant known works except *An Introduction to the History of England*. If Swift's value as a clever amanuensis fully "explains why in 1692 Temple was reluctant to part with Swift"⁴² and why Temple was angry with Swift in 1694, Sir William should have been frantic with exasperation in 1690.

III

What other motivation had Temple to maintain the dependent relationship without furthering Swift's career? It seems probable that the bereaved father transferred to the young newcomer—himself a posthumous child—some of the attitudes which he had originally shown toward his own son. Such an hypothesis gains credibility not only through its clarification of the questions asked at the opening of this inquiry but from several additional circumstances: parallels between the treatment of John Temple and of Jonathan Swift by Sir William, the latter's bequest to Swift, and rumors that Swift was the illegitimate son of Sir William.

In three aspects of his relationship with Swift, Temple recalls his own behavior toward his son. Both Swift and John Temple, for example, carried confidential messages for Sir William. These were sometimes of considerable importance, as on the well-known occasion of Swift's presenting Temple's argument for triennial parliaments to King William in 1693 (compare John Temple's bearing to his father, in 1677, Charles II's invitation to become secretary of state). Other instances are so common that Lady Giffard could write, in 1697 or 1698, that she had sent Swift with

⁴¹ Swift, *Correspondence*, I, 171-72.

⁴² Woodbridge, *loc. cit.*

"another compliment from Papa to ye King where I fancy he is not displeased with finding occasions of going."⁴³

Both Swift and John Temple were deeply involved in Sir William's composition of his memoirs. It was at his son's "repeated request"⁴⁴ that he began to write the second part in 1683, and it was to his son that he dedicated this. But the work was printed from Swift's copy, and it was included in Sir William's general bequest to Swift of the "care, and trust, and advantage of publishing his posthumous writings."⁴⁵

The last of the similarities is the most striking. Although Sir William had often been separated from his son for long periods, he does not seem to have relaxed his affectionate control of the youth. He may have sent John to school in France.⁴⁶ He probably guided the young man's diplomatic career. Yet in 1689, when thirty-four-year-old John wished to join the Prince of Orange upon the latter's arrival in England, Sir William repeatedly "denied the leave"⁴⁷ to him and insisted upon prohibiting a presentation until considerably later. However, Sir William let John Temple be made the new king's secretary of war immediately after the coronation. With Swift, too, Sir William calmly accepted—if he did not suggest or urge—one long separation for improvement of health in Ireland and another, very short one for additional education at Oxford. He introduced Swift to King William and made him some ambiguous promises.⁴⁸ Yet when twenty-seven-year-old Jonathan wished to break the tie altogether and to live independently of his patron, Sir William became angry—though not so angry that he was not glad to receive Swift again when the latter was ready to return. One might conjecture that Temple's emotion was intensified by his memory of the suicidal effect which independence had had upon his son.

Quite distinct from such analogies with John Temple is a second indication of Sir William's paternalism towards Swift. When Henry Temple died, that quarter of Sir William's unencumbered personal estate which had earlier been willed to him remained

⁴³ Longe, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁴⁴ Temple, *Works*, II, 243-44.

⁴⁶ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 158.

⁴⁵ Swift, *Prose Works*, XI, 380.

⁴⁷ Temple, *Early Essays*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ Swift, *Prose Works*, XI, 378-80; *Correspondence*, I, 30, 157; III, 301; Forster, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72 and *passim*.

unprovided for. In a codicil dated February 2, 1697-98, Sir William left one hundred pounds of that share to his cousin, William Dingley, and the same amount to "Mr. Jonathan Swift, now dwelling with me." He bequeathed no comparable sum to any other person not related to him, although Stella received the lease of some lands in Ireland. Swift is also the only non-relative not designated "servant" in the whole will.⁴⁹

A third circumstance which strengthens the hypothesis that Temple transferred certain of his paternal attitudes to Swift is the rumor that Swift was Temple's son by Abigail Erick Swift. Although this silly suspicion is notoriously baseless, it seems generally to have derived from contemporary wonder at the extent of Temple's kindness.

Sir William Temple's friendship [writes Orrery] was immediately construed to proceed from a consciousness, that he was the real father of Mr. Swift, otherwise it was thought impossible, that he could be so uncommonly munificent to a young man, no ways related to him, and but distantly related to his wife.⁵⁰

Certainly the consensus in the early eighteenth century was that Temple's generosity toward Swift was fatherly.

On all these counts it seems safe to suggest that one of the main elements in the relationship between Swift and Temple was the paternal sentiment which Temple had transferred from his dead son to Swift and that one of the causes for the seeming inconsistencies in that relationship was the ambivalence of Temple's attitude, which fostered dependence but based itself on affection. These assumptions would not only help to account for Temple's treatment of Swift, both in general and on the two occasions of his leaving Moor Park, but also supply an additional argument against the "legend of Swift's bitter servitude to a peevish and pompous invalid."⁵¹

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⁴⁹ Courtenay, *op. cit.*, II, 484-86.

⁵⁰ John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752), p. 15. An equally outrageous specimen is of course the article by C.M.P.G.N.S.T.N.S., "Anecdotes of Dean Swift and Miss Johnson," in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVII, 487-91.

⁵¹ Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

OLD WELSH ENNIAUN AND THE OLD ENGLISH
PERSONAL NAME ELEMENT WEN

KCD 755¹ is the record of a lawsuit brought before a shire-moot at Aylston, Herefordshire, in the reign of King Cnut. The name of the plaintiff, who sues his own mother for some landed property in the county, is given by Kemble as *Eadwine Eanwene sunu*. His text is derived from the version printed by G. Hickes, *Dissertatio epistolaris* (Oxonii 1703), pp. 2-3, where, however, the person under notice appears as *Edwine Enneawnes sunu*. Hickes's source, it is true, was a copy, 'recenti manu non sine mendis plurimis, & lacunis descriptum,' of a lost original, but the text, as he gives it, is in perfectly good late Old English and there seems to be no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy.

Now Kemble, who, like Hickes, took the mysterious *Enneawn* to be the mother of Eadwine, was pardonably puzzled by the curious form and abnormal genitive ending of the supposed feminine name and consequently altered it to *Eanwen*, which would seem to be a perfectly normal OE compound of the elements *Ēan-* and *-wēn*. In his *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge 1897), Searle duly records this occurrence of the name, which incidentally is the only evidence we have for its existence, and via Searle it was taken over into M. Boehler's *Die altenglischen Frauennamen* (Berlin 1930), p. 65. Some years ago Miss A. J. Robertson reprinted the original text of Hickes in her *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1939; No. 78). She regards the form *Enneawn* as 'obviously corrupt' (p. 401) and, correctly pointing out that the name is 'not necessarily that of Edwin's mother,' suggests that we may be concerned with OE *Ēanwine*.²

There is, however, no need to assume a corruption at all. *Enneawn* clearly goes back to Old Welsh *Enniaun*, which is well evi-

¹ The abbreviations for sources and counties used in this article are generally those employed in the publications of the English Place-Name Society. Note that ASCh or Robertson stands for A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge 1939), ASW or Whitelock for D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge 1930), LibEl for *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart (London 1848) and PNDB for O. von Feilitzen, *The pre-Conquest personal names of Domesday Book* (Uppsala 1937).

² Recorded as the name of an 8th-c. Northumbrian prince.

denced in early Welsh sources, the ultimate base being Lat. *Anniānus*.³ The diphthong *ia*, which was unfamiliar to West Saxon, was replaced by *ea*.⁴ Eadwine was evidently of mixed ancestry, and the name of his father is an interesting addition to the small number of Celtic personal names, mostly borne by Welsh princes, that have hitherto been found in OE charters.⁵

Apart from the fact that, as we have seen, the emendation proposed by Kemble is unnecessary for the establishment of a satisfactory etymology of the form *Enneawn*, there is, however, another weighty objection to his reconstruction. As I hope to show below, we have actually very little if any real evidence for the use of the word *wēn* f. 'belief, hope' as an element in OE personal names. The compounds supposed by Searle and Boehler to contain this theme are as follows.⁶

A) As a first element.

Wēnbeorht: The form *Wenberht* dux 852 (12th) BCS 464 (= ASCh 7) is, as recognized by Robertson (p. 273), an error for *Werenberht*. The person referred to appears as a signatory to royal charters from 845 to 873.⁷ The first element is OE *Wer(e)n-*, on

³ See on this name, particularly its later history, M. Förster in *Texte und Forschungen . . . für Felix Liebermann* (Halle 1921), p. 196, and for references to early forms J. Baudiš, *Grammar of early Welsh* (London 1924), §§ 60 n. 1, 184: 3 n. 1. The name enters into the Glamorganshire place-name Eynon's Ford (B. G. Charles, *Non-Celtic place-names in Wales*, London 1936, p. 127).

⁴ For *ia* of various origin in Kentish, West Mercian and Northumbrian see Luick, *Hist. Gramm. der engl. Sprache*, §§ 247b, 248, 260 n. 1.

⁵ The Welsh names in the TRE portion of DB are listed in PNDB p. 29 f.

⁶ Boehler, of course deals only with names where, in her opinion, *-wēn* enters as a second element and with feminine names in *Wen-*; cf. her general survey of such compounds, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 f. Her material is fuller than that of Searle. To save space detailed references to these writers have generally been omitted, nor have I deemed it necessary to specify as such a couple of additional occurrences of forms in *-wen* noted by myself but not recorded by Boehler. Special points made by the latter writer in her etymological discussions have of course been duly acknowledged in their proper place.

⁷ *Uuerenberht* prefectus, *Werenberhto* ministro regis ac prefecto 845 (or.) BCS 448, *Werenberht* c. 848 (cont.?) *ibid.* 452, *Werberht* dux 855 (11th) *ibid.* 487, *Weremberht* dux 855 (11th) *ibid.* 488, *Werenbearht* 859 (or.) *ibid.* 497, *Uuerenberht* minister 860-62 (11th) *ibid.* 502, *Uuerenberht* 873 (or.) *ibid.* 536.

which see R. Müller, *Untersuchungen über die Namen des nord-humbrischen Liber Vitae* (Berlin 1901), p. 103.

Wēnburh f.: This name is supposed to enter into the boundary-mark on *uuenburge byrgge* (for *-brycge*) 958 (c. 1260) BCS 1036 (bds of Ducklington, O; Abingdon cart., MS B), a derivation which is no doubt formally possible. However, there is some evidence for *e* < *y* in MS B of the Abingdon cartulary, and F. Langer, *Zur Sprache des Abingdon Chartulars* (Berlin 1904), p. 43, may well be right in explaining the form as a variant of the well-authenticated OE *Wynburh*.⁸

⁸ Of the parallels adduced by Langer, *op. cit.*, p. 42 f. we may note the following: *Kenerico* by the side of *Cinrices* 958 BCS 1035 (OE *Cyneric*), *Bedene*, *Bydene* 965 BCS 1171 (OE *byden*; now Beedon, Berks), *ferhpe* 956 BCS 955 < OE *fyrhþ*, on *tetan hyll of tytan hylle* 957 BCS 1002 (bds of Hinksey, Berks); all in the section written by the second scribe. In the portion written by the first scribe we find *Wensige* episcopus 926 BCS 659, the reference being to bp Wynsige of Salisbury.

To avoid unnecessary repetition we may point out here once for all that *e* for *y* is more or less common in the early dialects of K, E, Sf, Nf, Sx, Sr, Ha, Mx (including the city of London), Herts, C, Beds and Bk. As is now generally recognized, this dialectal feature had a much wider range than was formerly held; see PNDB p. 56 note 2 and the references given there, to which should now be added H. Kökeritz, *Studia neophilologica*, 10 (1937/38), p. 90 f. (on *e* < *y* in Ha), the same writer's *The Place-names of the Isle of Wight* (Uppsala 1940), pp. xeviii ff., H. Bohman, *Studies in the ME dialects of London and Devon* (Göteborg 1944), pp. 33-85 and the recent volumes of the Place-Name Society on Hertfordshire (1938), p. xxv, Middlesex (1942), p. xvii and Cambridgeshire (1943), p. xxv. In some post-Conquest MSS, notably DB, AN influence may sometimes be responsible for the occurrence of *e* for *y* or *i*. Furthermore, even in dialects which normally either preserved *y* or unrounded it to *i*, we are surely justified in reckoning with a certain tendency for the vowel when occurring in the weakly stressed second element of compounds to become reduced to a more or less indistinct or slurred sound, for which *e* would be a convenient graphic representation. Cf. the partly parallel development of *-frið* > *-ferð* discussed in PNDB p. 51. It should also be noted that Ekwall, *Studies on English place-names* (Lund 1936), pp. 115 ff., assumes a sporadic development, outside the *e*-area, of *y* > *e* in stressed syllables, owing to the influence of preceding labial consonants. This phenomenon may be illustrated by the form *uuenburge* above and by frequent *Wenstan* in the Worcester cartulary by the side of *Wynstan*; cf. *infra*.

It may be added that the problem of the development of OE *y* in the transition period and in early ME and of the exact phonetic value of the

Wēnflæd f.: *Wenflede* (2x, dat.) 942 (15th) BCS 775 (Do; Harley 61), a *religiosa sancte conversacionis monialis femina*, is plausibly identified by Whitelock (p. 109) with *Wynflæd*, daughter of *Beorhtwynn*, who owned land in Do and Wilts and drew up her will c. 950 (ASW 3 = KCD 1290, MS 11th c.).

Wēngēat: DB *Weniet* (Searle p. 582) reflects OE *Wyngēat*; PNDB p. 428.

Wēnheard: Searle refers to the boundary-mark to *wēneardes smede*. of *wēneardes snede* 943 (c. 1130-50) BCS 786 (bds of Tisted, Ha; Cod Wint). The second word is apparently OE *snæd* 'piece of (wood-)land, clearing,' but the interpretation of the first must be left open. The identity of the original vowel in the first syllable is doubtful⁹ and we cannot even be certain that it is a personal name at all.

Wēnhelm: Among the clerics of St. Augustine's enumerated in the Canterbury charter BCS 1010 (bef. 958, contemp. MS; cf. ASCh 32) appears one *Wenelm*. The language of the document being strongly Kentish throughout, the form under notice is most prob-

sounds variously rendered by *y*, *u*, *i* and *e* in cartularies and chronicles is, of course, one of the major cruxes of English sound-history, and much work remains to be done before it can be fully elucidated. So far only a few ME cartularies have been systematically analyzed from a phonological and diplomatic point of view, and the absence, in most cases, of adequate data on their orthographic peculiarities renders a conclusive judgment of individual spellings extremely difficult. Exactly to what extent the forms of proper names occurring in the various ME cartularies should be assumed to reflect the contemporary local dialect of the copyists as distinct from the traditional OE scribal usage represented by the original records (cf. on this point PNDB p. 37 f.) is still a moot question which calls for a separate investigation in each case. A further complication is added by the fact that forms only available in KCD cannot always be implicitly relied on in view of the editor's unfortunate habit of normalizing his text. The reservations just stated should be borne in mind in judging the etymological suggestions put forward in the present paper.

⁹ *æ* by the side of *e* in the Cod Wint may reflect OE *æ*, *ǣ*₁, *ǣ*₂, *ē* or *e* (whether from WG *e* or resulting from *i*-mutation of *-an(n)-*); cf. R. A. Williams, 'Die Vokale der Tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis,' *Anglia* 25 (1902), pp. 418 ff., 431, 481 ff., 487 f. OE *y* occasionally appears as *e* (op. cit. p. 449), but there are no safe cases of *Wen-* < *Wyn-* in the material analyzed by Williams.

ably a local variant of *Wynhelm*.¹⁰ The person referred to may perhaps be identical with the Canterbury presbyter *Wynhelm* c. 914: BCS 539, 638.

Wēnnōð: The forms *Uuenoðo* ministro 986 (14th) KCD 654 (dat., 2x), *Uuenoðus* 1065 (14th) *ibid.* 817, both from the Malmesbury cartulary (MS Lansdowne 417) and referring to the same person, are taken by Searle to prove the existence of an OE *Wēnnōð*. As the language of the vernacular portions of the MS is late ME and the proper names occurring in it frequently appear in very corrupt spellings, no definitive suggestion can be offered and the reconstruction attempted by Searle, while not *a priori* impossible, must remain conjectural.¹¹

Wēnric: The form *Wenric* in DB goes back to OE *Wynric*; see PNDP p. 429.

Wēnsige: *Wensige* minister 958 (13th) BCS 1030 (W; Harley 436) is the same man as *Wynsige* (*Winsige*) minister who witnesses a great number of Eadwig's and Eadgar's charters at least from 957 up to 973.¹² Most probably this *Wynsige* is also identical with the contemporary Cambridgeshire magnate *Wensius*, who is twice referred to in the LibEl c. 970-75.¹³ A form *Wenzige* also appears

¹⁰ *e* for *y* is also found in *geltes*, *geberige* (var. *gebærige*). Note further such inverted spellings as *Æðelwyrð* (3x),—*æs*, *yfter*, *yftær*. Cf. on this charter F. W. Bryan, *Studies in the dialects of the Kentish charters of the Old English period* (Chicago 1915), pp. 11, 14, 17 and 25 f.

¹¹ KCD 817 lists a number of earlier grants among them that recorded in 654. The second form has therefore no independent authority but merely copies the first. In the version of the cartulary printed by J. Brewer from another and somewhat earlier MS (*Registrum Malmesburiense*, London 1879-80; MS c. 1300), the corresponding forms are *Vuenodero* ministro and *Vuenod'* (vol. i, pp. 320, 323).

¹² 957 BCS 999, 958 *ibid.* 1028, 1036, 1037, 963 *ibid.* 1112, 967 *ibid.* 1210, 970 *ibid.* 1257, 1269, 973 *ibid.* 1292.—The appearance of a witness of this name in 974 BCS 1308 is due to a mistaken copying of an earlier charter; cf. Robertson p. 349.

¹³ *Wensio* (dat.) LibEl (MS late 12th) p. 127, *Wensius Wlfrisi* (for *-rici*) *cognatus*, *Wensio* (dat.) *ibid.* p. 151. He witnessed a transaction concerning property in C in the presence of abbot Beorhtnoð of Ely (+ 981) and bp. Æðelwald of Winchester (963-84). At a hundred-moot in Whittlesford c. 975 he sued another local magnate for allegedly withholding payment for land at Swaffham. Note also that one of the charters signed by *Winsige* minister (BCS 1269) is recorded in the Ely book.—On *e* for *y*, a normal

on one Wilton coin from the reign of Æðelred II (B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska mynt i svenska kongl. myntkabinettet*, Stockholm 1881, p. 156). No parallel forms in *Wyn-* or *Win-* have been noted from this place, but Wilton was a small mint and the moneyer in question may well have been the same as the contemporary *Wynsige* who worked at Exeter and London (*op. cit.*, pp. 55 f., 123). On *Wenesi* for *Wynsige* in DB see PNDB p. 429.

Wēnstān: The form *Wenstan*, adduced by Searle from 961-70 (11th) BCS 1139 (Heming) and also found in several other contemporary charters, is a scribal variant of *Wynstān*, the person referred to being a Worcester cleric of that name who signed from 963 to 978.¹⁴ On DB *Wenestan* < OE *Wynstān* see PNDB p. 429.

Wēnðrȳð f.: In LibEl incidental mention is made of a local saint *Wendredae* (gen., p. 192: 2x), *Wendrethae* (gen., pp. 195, 196) in connexion with the translation of her relics by abbot Ælfsige (981-1019) from the village of March, C, to Ely and their subsequent removal by the Danes in 1016. No further information seems to be available about this saint.¹⁵ The second element of her name was evidently *-ðrȳð*, and OE *Wynðrȳð*, which is on record, seems the most likely etymon. On *e* < *y* see note 13 *supra*. Boehler (p. 152) takes the OE form to have been *Wēnðrȳð*.

B) As a second element.

Ælfwēn: According to the *Chronicon abbatae Rameseiensis* (ed. W. D. Macray, London 1886) the wife of Æðelstan 'Half-king,' a prominent East-Anglian noble (d. c. 960), was a certain *Alfwen*

C variant, see note 8 *supra*. The LibEl specifically exhibits frequent vacillation between *i*, *u* and *e*; cf. *Ælfwennæ*, *-wenne* (notes 16, 18 *infra*), *Sewenna* (pp. 38, 42) < OE *Sēwynn*, *Fanbrige* (p. 197), *-bruge* (p. 212), *-brege* (pp. 100, 198) > *Fambridge* (E), *Ælfred* (p. 146), *Alftreth* (p. 153) < OE *Ælfðrȳð*, *Ætheldredæ* (p. 132), *-drydæ* (p. 133), *-drethæ* (p. 142) < OE *Æðelðrȳð*. Even original *i* is occasionally written *e*, as in *Ælfsueth* (p. 116) < OE *Ælfswið*.

¹⁴ *Wenstan* clericus 966 BCS 1182, 967 *ibid.* 1206, 1207, 969 *ibid.* 1232, 1239, 1240, 1241; *Wynstan* clericus 963 BCS 1105 and 16 other charters, the latest being 978 KCD 620. Another variant is *Wunstan* clericus 969 BCS 1242, 977 KCD 615.

¹⁵ St. Wendred's Church in March is mentioned in 1343; see J. F. Madan & W. M. Palmer, *Notes on Bodleian MSS relating to Cambridge* (Cambridge 1931), p. 73.

(pp. 11, 53; MS A, early 14th c.). In the second instance, however, MS B of our text, which is earlier (late 13th c.) and frequently better than A, has the variant *Alfwennæ* (dat.). As shown by the double *n*, her real name was undoubtedly *Ælfwynn*.¹⁶ This is probably true also of *Alfwen* c. 1020 (14th) ASW 25 (Sf cart. = KCD 960), the daughter of Thurketel Heyng, who, as Whitelock (p. 180) points out, is also referred to as *Aelfwen religiosa reclusa quædam apud Sanctum Benedictum in Holm* in a late 11th c. life of St. Edmund.¹⁷ The second element would have Sf *e* for *y*. In the case of *Aluuen* 12th c. (?) LVH 136 (Ha) no certainty is possible, but *e* for *y* is not infrequent in Ha sources (cf. *e* note 8 *supra*), and like DB *Aluuen*, *Aluene*, on which see PNDB 161, the form presumably goes back to OE *Ælfwynn*.¹⁸

Æscwēn: The forms *Æscuuen de Staneie* (Stonea, C) c. 950 (late 12th) LibEl p. 133, *Æscuuen* *ibid.* p. 136 may well represent OE *Æscwynn*, on which see Boehler p. 24. Cf. note 13 *supra*.

¹⁶ The *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia* (ed. W. H. Hart & P. A. Lyons, London 1884-93; MS 14th c.) calls her *Alfwen* (vol. iii, pp. 165, 166) or *Aylwynæ comitissæ* (gen.; vol. i, p. 268) and records her death under the year 983. She was buried at Chatteris and is most likely, as suggested by Tanner (*Notitia monastica*, London 1744, p. 40; cf. also Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 1655, p. 251) and E. W. Robertson (*Historical essays*, Edinburgh 1872, pp. 179 f.) identical with the *Ælfwennæ* . . . *cognomento Domine* (gen.) who is mentioned in LibEl (p. 188) as having been instrumental, with her brother Eadnoð, abbot of Ramsey and later bishop of Dorchester (d. 1016), in founding the Benedictine nunnery at Chatteris. The traditional date for that event (c. 980) would therefore seem to be probably correct; cf. D. Knowles, *The religious houses of medieval England* (London 1940), pp. 136, 142. E. Power, *Medieval English nunneries* (Cambridge 1922), dates it c. 1010.

¹⁷ *Heremanni archidiaconi Miracula Sancti Eadmundi* (MS c. 1100), in F. Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg 1879), p. 234. The author, who wrote his work c. 1097, was arch-deacon at Bury St. Edmunds, Sf. A safe example of *e* < *y* in this text is *Aelfgeth* < *Ælfgyð* (p. 239).

¹⁸ *Ælfwenne* (dat.) c. 1030 (late 12th) KCD 932 (LibEl p. 207, the daughter of Oswig and Leofflæd, Stetchworth, C) is of course *Ælfwynn*, like *Ælfwennæ* (dat. and gen.) 10th c. *Chronicon abbatiæ Ramesciensis*, pp. 60, 61, 76 (daughter of Æðelstan Mannessunu). *Alfwen filia Alfelmi*, described *ibid.* p. 149 as the mother of Harald Harefoot, is a mistake for *Ælfgyfu*, the consort of King Cnut.—Boehler (p. 23) is aware of the ambiguity of the material listed by her under *Ælfwēn*.

Beorhtwēn: The only evidence adduced for this name is the form *Beorhtwene* (dat.) 939 (15th) KCD 376 (= BCS 744; Do). The exact reading is, however, doubtful. The letter following *w* must be either missing or illegible in the MS for Birch prints *Beorhtw[i]ne* though without stating the reasons for his emendation, which may be quite conjectural.¹⁹ If, however, we are right in supplying an *i*, the correct etymon is of course *Beorhtwynn*. In fact, according to Whitelock (p. 109), the person referred to is probably identical with *Byrhtwynne* (dat.) 950 (cont.) ASW 3 (Do, W, = KCD 1290).

Cēolwēn: In the Latin version of BCS 566 (c. 900; Cod Wint, 12th c. = KCD 1070), a bilingual charter with the rubric *Ceolwenne cweðe of Aweltunæ* (Alton, W), the name of the testatrix appears as *Ceolwen*, whereas the OE text has *Ceolwin*²⁰ (KCD l. c. incorrectly *Ceolwen*). This is clearly *Cēolwynn*, which Boehler (p. 44) accepts as an alternative possibility.

Cynewēn: Among the witnesses to BCS 585 (AD 901, W; MS 14th c., very corrupt spellings)²¹ figures one *Kynewen*, who naturally cannot be a woman. The form evidently stands for *Kyneþen* < OE *Cyneþegn* with *w* (wynn) for *þ* by scribal error and normal late WS reduction of *gn* > *n* (Luick, *Hist. Gramm.* § 251), as in *Kyneþen* 969 (11th) BCS 1240 (Heming).

Dēorwēn: *Dereuuen* 1086 DB 154 (a burgess of Oxford) presumably stands for OE *Dēorwynn*, on which see Boehler p. 52, *e* for *y* being due to AN influence.

Dunwēn: This name has been incorrectly reconstructed by Searle (p. 548) and Boehler (p. 52 f.) from the form *Duuen* in H. Ellis, *A general introduction to Domesday Book* (London 1833), ii, p. 77, which is, however, a misprint for *Duuan* 1066 DB 302 (Y) < OIr *Dubhán*; see PNDB p. 227.

Ēadwēn: The mother of St. Godric of Finchale (+ 1170) is called *Aedwen*, 'quod consone significat "Beatitudinis amicam" seu "Societate beatam,"' in the Bodley MS (Laud Misc. 413, late 12th

¹⁹ In supplying the missing letter Birch may conceivably have been prompted by a mistaken association with the common masculine name *Beorhtwine*.

²⁰ The OE version is also printed by Robertson, ASch 17.

²¹ E. g. *Acustan, Uurgstan, Welfrich, Wilfrige* etc.

c.) of Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici* (ed. J. Stevenson, London 1847, p. 22). MS Harley 322 (late 12th c.), which represents the earlier version of Reginald's work, has the variant *Edwenna* (*loc. cit.*, note).²² The double *n* in this form shows that the original name must have been *Ēadwynn*, as is perhaps also suggested by the popular etymology quoted above which presupposes association with OE *-wine*. An excellent parallel is afforded by the name of St. Godric's sister *Burhwynn*, which appears as *Burcwen*, *Burchwene* (corrected from *Burchwine*) and *Burchwine* ²³ in the Bodley MS (*op. cit.*, pp. 23, 139, 140), the corresponding Harley readings being *Burgwenne*, *Burchwene* and *Burwenne* (*ibid.*, pp. 24 n. 3, 139 n., 141 n. 2).²⁴

Herewēn: This name is supposedly attested by the form *Heruen* in J. Stevenson's edition of the *Liber Vitae ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (London 1841), p. 53 (early 13th c.). The MS reading is, however, *Herueu* (Facs. ed., London 1923, fol. 42 b, col. 5), an AN form of OG *Her(e)wig*; see T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic personal names in England* (Uppsala 1916), p. 150 f., who cites several occurrences of *Herueus*, *Heruei(us)* from LVD.

Lēofwēn: In a Sf charter dated c. 1038 and printed ASW 24 (from MS Cambridge Univ. Library Ff 2.33) mention is made of a certain *Lefwen*, the wife of Thurketel Heyng.²⁵ That her real name was *Leofwynn* is however conclusively proved by the form *Lefwyne* (dat.) which occurs in another version of the same charter (BCS 1020 from MS Add. 14, 847). Moreover she has been plausibly identified by Whitelock (pp. 179, 184) with *Leofwenne* (dat.) 1035-40 (11th) ASW 26. On Sf *e < y* see note 8 *supra*.²⁶

²² Galfrid's Life of St. Godric, which is based on Reginald and printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii, T. 5 (1866), pp. 69 ff. from a 15th c. MS, has *Ædwen* (p. 71). In Roger of Wendover's *Chronicon sive Flores historiarum* (ed. H. O. Coxe, London 1841), ii, p. 341 she is referred to as *Eadwenna*.

²³ With the gloss 'quod "Amicam civitatis" resonat, vel certe "Thalami amabilem consociam."

²⁴ The fact that the name of the daughter was *Burhwynn* would to some extent seem to furnish independent proof of the etymology suggested here in view of well-known tendency in OE nomenclature for the elements contained in the names of parents to reappear in those of their children.

²⁵ In her translation of the charter Whitelock (p. 69) normalizes the form to *Leofwyn*.

²⁶ *Lefquene* (dat.) ASW 24, *Lefquena* DB represent OE *Lēofwēn* f.; see PNDB 311.

Mārwēn: The form *Maruuen* DB 1066:2 x (Bd, Nf), 12th c. LVH 53 (Ha) is taken by Boehler (p. 98) to represent an OE *Mārwēn* (!), the first element of which she would explain as a variant of *Mār-*. Like *Meruen(a)* in DB (Ha, E), which Boehler (p. 100) derives from *Merewēn*, it clearly goes back to OE *Mār-wynn*; see further PNDB p. 326 f.

Merewēn: See *Mārwēn*.²⁷

Ōswēn: In his *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*²⁸ Abbo of Fleury mentions one *Oswen, beatae recordationis foemina*, who is said to have tended the martyred saint's body (c. 870). The same name recurs in William of Malmesbury who bases his description of the incident on Abbo.²⁹ The original reference being found in a Sf text, the form would be consistent with derivation from OE *Ōswynn* (cf. note 8 *supra*), as is indeed suggested by the variant *Oswenna* in a 15th c. abstract of the legend.³⁰ On *Ōswynn* see Boehler p. 106.

Sāwēn: As sole evidence for this name Boehler (p. 111) adduces the DB forms *Seuen, Seuuen* (1066, Li), which are, however, best explained as scribal variants of *Su(u)en* < ON *Sveinn*; cf. PNDB 358. An alternative etymon is OE *Sāwynn*.³¹

Wulfwēn: Like DB *Wluuen(e)*, *Vluuen(e)*, on which see PNDB 428, *Wuluuen* 12th c. (?) LVH 137 (Ha) probably goes back to OE *Wulfwynn* (common; Boehler 135).

From the preceding survey of the relevant material it will have been seen that the current assumption of an OE personal name element *wēn* rests on very precarious foundations. Of the 26 alleged compounds with this theme 6 or 7 owe their existence to scribal

²⁷ *Modwenna* is the name given in ME sources to a 6th-century Irish woman saint, on whom see now J. F. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland* (New York 1929), pp. 366-371. The original form appears to have been *Moninna*, which may have been anglicized *Modwynn*, as Boehler (p. 149) hesitatingly assumes.

²⁸ Ed. T. Arnold in *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i (London 1890), where the relevant passage occurs on p. 20. Abbo's work was composed c. 985 and survives in a MS from c. 1100.

²⁹ *Oswen quædam sancta mulier*; Wm of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, i (London 1887), p. 265, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London 1870), p. 154.

³⁰ *Memorials* . . . iii (1896), p. 352.

³¹ *Sæwynn* is recorded once in the 7th c., but apparently turns up again as *Sæuuen* in the *Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey* (11th or 12th c.; see D. Whitelock, *History*, N. S. 23, 1938/39, p. 70.

errors, misprints or arbitrary emendations of MS forms, viz. *Wēn-beorht*, *Beorhtwēn*, *Cynewēn*, *Dūnwēn*, *Ēanwēn*, *Herewēn* and probably *Sāwēn*.³² In the case of *Ælfwēn* (one instance), *Cēolwēn*, *Ēadwēn*, *Lēofwēn*, and *Ōswēn*, variant readings either in the same document or in collateral MSS prove that we are concerned with compounds in *-wynn*. Identification with persons bearing names in *Wyn-* enables us to remove from the list all or most of the forms entered under the headings *Wēnflād*, *Wēnsige* (3 instances) and *Wēnstān* (1 example).

Some forms occur only in DB, where OE *wynn* normally appears as *wen*, and can be disposed of summarily: *Wēngēat*, *Wēnric*, *Dēorwēn* and *Merewēn*, as well as the DB spellings entered under *Wēnsige*, *Wēnstān*, *Ælfwēn*, *Marwēn* and *Wulfwēn*. Considerations of dialect and phonology (cf. note 8 *supra*), which in all the above cases reinforce the various other criteria employed, tend by themselves to discredit or cast grave doubt upon the accepted derivation of the spellings listed under *Wēnburh*, *Wēnhelm*, *Wēnðrȳð*, *Ælfwēn* (2 examples) and *Æscwēn*, as well as of the LVH forms s. nn. *Marwēn* and *Wulfwēn*. The supposed evidence for *Wēnnōð*, finally, occurs in an untrustworthy MS, and *Wēnheard* has been inferred from a field-name of uncertain meaning.

Apart from irrelevant or obscure cases like *Wēnbeorht*, *Wēnnōð* etc. all the forms discussed in the present article can thus be derived from well-authenticated names in *Wyn-* or *-wynn*, a common and prolific element in OE nomenclature.³³ As we have seen, many examples admit of no other etymology, and it seems reasonable to assume that the remaining cases where no positive certainty is possible should be explained in the same way. Hence it appears legitimate to conclude that unless fresh evidence should turn up for the theme *wēn*, we are scarcely justified in reckoning with it as an element in OE personal names.³⁴

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³² This may however be a genuine phonetic doublet of *Su(u)en*.

³³ A number of compounds in *-wynn*, mostly found in ME sources and not included by Searle, are listed by the present writer in an article on 'Some unrecorded Old and Middle English personal names,' *Namn och Bygd* 33 (1945), pp. 77, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87.

³⁴ It may be added that DB *Wenning* (Searle 582) stands for OE *Wynning* (PNDB 428).

THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS AND AKENSIDE'S
PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION

When Mark Akenside published his philosophic epic, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, in 1744, the psychology known as the "association of ideas" had already been accepted by the best minds of the period as the most suitable explanation of the operations of mind and imagination. In short, the special type of mental activity known as the "association, or connection, of ideas" was generally understood to occur when ideas are so joined in the mind that one idea almost invariably is succeeded by those which in some way—resemblance, contrast, causality, or contiguity—are attracted to it. After Hobbes, Locke, Addison, Berkeley, Hutcheson, and Hume, among others, had employed this psychology to explain the way in which the mind or human nature is prone to act and had applied it with varying degrees of success to an understanding of critical theory, it remained only for the poets to popularize the association of ideas and so to pass it on to intellects of lesser magnitude. Mark Akenside was among the first poets to give this psychological theory such popular literary expression. In his poem, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, the association of ideas is as fundamental to his concept of the imagination as it is to Hobbes's philosophy of the fancy.

Convenient aids to the understanding of Akenside's concept of the imagination are furnished in the prose remarks that accompany the obscure, inflated rhetoric of his poetry. In "The Design" prefixed to this philosophic poem founded upon the writings of Addison, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson, Akenside clearly points out to his readers that some of the imaginative pleasures arise "from the relations of different objects one to another." As these pleasures, he continues, are apparently in great measure dependent "on the early association of our ideas, and as this habit of associating is the source of many pleasures and pains in life, and on that account bears a great share in the influence of poetry and the other arts, it is therefore mentioned here and its effects described." The importance of association, thus made explicit at the outset, becomes especially obvious in that section of Book III which the "Argu-

ment" explains as "The operations of the mind in the production of the works of imagination described."¹

The prose remarks suggest the respect in which Akenside holds the psychology of association. His application of associationism to an understanding of his central subject, the nature of esthetic response and imaginative creation, is only further evidence of the significance of the association of ideas for critical theory in the eighteenth century. Akenside believes that the operations of the mind involve the processes of association. That is to say, he maintains that the association of ideas in the memory is an invaluable aid to imagination when the latter selects images from it for "the curious aim of mimic Art" (III, 354). In this way art's imitations will remain comparable to their sources in nature. Equally as significant as this Hobbesian concept of the associative memory supplying the plastic imagination with images is Akenside's belief that custom, formed by chance (or contiguous) associations of ideas (III, 321 ff.), is of fundamental importance in the explanation of man's esthetic responses to natural scenery. These two uses of the theory of association are, it will be remembered, not much unlike Addison's combination of the associationism of Hobbes and Locke in *Spectator* 416 and 417.

Why, Akenside begins, do the varied scenes in nature affect the poet with beauty or sublimity? Is the source of their effect in God? "Or rather from the links Which artful custom twines around her [the mind's] frame?" (III, 310-11) The latter conjecture is apparently accepted as the correct one; and Akenside expands upon it as the explanation of the emotional and esthetic effects that several unrelated natural scenes have upon man. The customary association of ideas is described in accordance with Locke's analysis of the way chance associations form habits:

For when the different images of things,
By chance combin'd, have struck the attentive soul
With deeper impulse, or connected long,
Have drawn her frequent eye. . . .

This subjective association of ideas joins ideas of which the sources in nature are really separate and distinct:

¹ *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside*, ed. Rev. A. Dyce (Boston, 1875), pp. 117, 166.

. . . howe'er distinct
 The external scenes, yet oft the ideas gain
 From that conjunction an eternal tie,
 And sympathy unbroken.²

These associations then produce a chain of connected ideas. Akenside believes that temper or the prevailing passion determines the movement of this train of ideas in the mind:

Let the mind
 Recall one partner of the various league,
 Immediate, lo! the firm confederates rise,
 And each his former station straight resumes:
 One movement governs the consenting throng,
 And all at once with rosy pleasure shine,
 Or all are sadden'd with the glooms of care. (III, 318 ff.)

Like Hume, who compares association to gravity, Akenside compares the associational attraction to an operation in physics, to the effects of magnetic attraction upon two points of a compass:

. . . whate'er the line
 Which one possess'd, nor pause nor quiet knew
 The sure associate, ere with trembling speed
 He found his path, and fix'd unerring there.³

² III, 312-8. In a comment on other lines but peculiarly appropriate here, Akenside has explained how the subjective habitual associations may produce pleasure from disagreeable objects (p. 189, note to I, 234 ff.): "Though the object itself should always continue disagreeable, yet circumstances of pleasure or good fortune may occur along with it. Thus an association may arise in the mind, and the object never be remembered without those pleasing circumstances attending it; by which means the disagreeable impression which it at first occasioned will in time be quite obliterated." Other subjective expressions, but not certainly associationist, are in I, 481 ff., 526 ff. Cf. also III, 462-4: "By what fine ties hath God connected things When present in the mind, which in themselves Have no connection." The lines following these (III, 464 ff.) give a poetic version of the passage from Addison's *Spectator* 412 which Hume used to illustrate the double association of ideas and impressions or feelings. (See Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) in *The Philosophical Works*, ed. Green and Grose [London, 1875], II, 83.) It is not inconceivable, therefore, for Akenside to think likewise of the combination of sensuous effects as operating within the sphere of associationism.

³ III, 334 ff. This poetic figure is also used by Shenstone in his didactic blank verse essay named *Oeconomy, a Rhapsody* (1742-3) in *The Works . . . of Shenstone* (London, 1773), I, 283-4:

Know too by nature's undiminish'd law,
 Throughout her realms obey'd, the various parts

He now borrows from Addison directly and shows how the associational powers of recollection augment the pleasures of the fancy and so affect the taste for nature:

Such is the secret union, when we feel
A song, a flower, a name, at once restore
Those long-connected scenes where first they mov'd
The attention: backward through her mazy walks
Guiding the wanton fancy to her scope,
To temples, courts, or fields; with all the band
Of painted forms, of passions, and designs
Attendant: whence, if pleasing in itself,
The prospect from that sweet accession gains
Redoubled influence o'er the listening mind. (III, 338 ff.)

Having completed the description of the associational pleasures of the receptive imagination, or taste, Akenside proceeds to the associational pleasures of the inventive imagination.

"These mysterious ties," he continues, hold together the trains of ideas in the memory, so that they may be worked over by the imitative fancy, "mimic art." Indeed, this popular description of association, except for the fact that no laws or principles are mentioned, is hardly different from Hobbes's conception of the associations in the memory aiding the imagination, as presented in the *Answer to Davenant* (1650). Akenside writes:

By these mysterious ties, the busy power
Of memory her ideal train preserves

Of deep creation, atoms, systems, all!
Attract and are attracted.

Shenstone then describes the attraction of ideas in the soul:

Nor prevails the law
Alone in matter; soul alike with soul
Aspires to join; nor yet in souls alone,
In each idea it [the soul] imbibes, is found
The kind propensity. And when they meet,
And grow familiar, various tho' their tribe,
Their tempers various, vow perpetual faith:
That shou'd the world's disjointed frame once more
To chaos yield the sway, amid the wreck
Their union shou'd survive; with Roman warmth
By sacred hospitable laws endear'd,
Should each idea recollect his friend.

Hume's comparison, made in the *Treatise*, may well be the source of this image. See *Works*, ed. Green and Grose, I, 321.

Entire; or when they [images, ideas] would elude
 her [memory's] watch,
 [Memory] Reclaims their fleeting footsteps from the waste
 Of dark oblivion; thus collecting all
 The various forms of being to present,
 Before the curious aim of mimic art,
 Their largest choice: like Spring's unfolded blooms
 Exhaling sweetness, that the skilful bee
 May taste at will, from their selected spoils
 To work her dulcet food. (III, 348 ff.)

In a note to III, 348 ff. he observes, "The act of remembering seems almost wholly to depend on the association of ideas." "The child of fancy" can thus employ his "plastic powers" upon these materials associatively retained in the memory. And fancy, as in Addison's papers on the imagination, compounds, combines, and invents, and even "ranges in fantastic bands." However, in this compounding it is not, as Hume affirms, governed directly by the regular laws of successive association:

Now compares
 Their different forms; now blends them, now divides,
 Enlarges and extenuates by turns;
 Opposes, ranges in fantastic bands,
 And infinitely varies. (III, 391 ff.)

After the completion of the imitative work of art, Akenside describes how the poet judiciously compares his imitation, "line by line," with nature.

In Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* the theory of association is for the first time given genuinely popular literary expression in dignified poetry. Like Addison, Akenside has taken this eighteenth-century psychology out of the realm of abstract philosophy and has carried it into mildly intellectual art and literary theory. He has used it to explain the esthetic feelings as well as the processes of artistic invention. In both these applications of the associationist psychology, Akenside keeps well within the bounds of the tradition determined by Hobbes and Locke and affirmed by Addison and Hutcheson. He makes no original contribution; and his contradictory eclecticism is to be blamed for his failure to note how associations may affect the "internal powers" of taste (III, 515 ff.).⁴

⁴ But Akenside does believe that the Hutchesonian moral sense is "determined by the peculiar temper of the imagination and the earliest associations of ideas." See p. 191, note to I, 548 ff.

In his revised version of the poem (1757-70), Akenside also plans to show how the association of ideas affects taste. In the "General Argument," he observes rather obscurely that among the causes of imaginative pleasures is "the association of ideas," despite the fact that it is "more limited in [...its] operation" than those causes found in nature and art. "To illustrate these [causes], and from the whole to determine the character of a perfect taste, is the argument of the fourth book."⁵ Unfortunately, this book was never completed; consequently, we can only surmise that perhaps under the impact of the new associationist ideas of Hume, in the *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40) or the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748), and Hartley, in the *Observations on Man* (1749), more might have been said about the artistic effects of the association of ideas. But even in the fragment of Book IV (1770), a slight shift from the associationist position in the first published version can be perceived.

In this fragment, it is not strange to find that Akenside again uses association to explain the way the mind functions when in the heat of artistic imitation. But a difference from the first approach can be detected: and perhaps the source of this difference is in Hume and Hartley. He describes, for example, how habits are unconsciously and spontaneously formed and how these habits affect the taste for beauty:

For thus far
On general habits, and on arts which grow
Spontaneous in the minds of all mankind,
Hath dwelt our argument; and how self-taught,
Though seldom conscious of their own employ,
In Nature's or in Fortune's changeful scene
Men learn to judge of Beauty, and acquire
Those forms set up, as idols in the soul
For love and zealous praise. (IV, 58 ff.)

Conventionally enough, this in the Lockean tradition; but what follows is not. It is precisely at this point that Akenside, under the influence of the new ideas about association, leaves the old channels of thought. The "vulgar" and unknowing populace, he states, are blindly controlled by unconscious casual associations of ideas stored in the mind. This is, indeed, reminiscent of Hartlean necessity:

⁵ P. 201.

Yet indistinctly
 In vulgar bosoms, and unnotic'd, lie
 These pleasing stores, unless the casual force
 Of things external prompt the heedless mind
 To recognize her wealth. (iv, 66 ff.)

On the other hand, the will of the poet is more powerful than the casual force of associations controlled by contiguity and can consciously employ "the secret laws Which bind them to each other" in order to frame a work of art. Here the imagination, as Hume believed, directly uses the laws of association without benefit of memory:

But some there are
 Conscious of Nature and the rule which man
 O'er Nature holds: some who, within themselves
 Retiring from the trivial scenes of chance
 And momentary passion, can at will
 Call up these fair exemplars of the mind;
 Review their features; scan the secret laws
 Which bind them to each other; and display
 By forms or sounds or colours, to the sense
 Of all the world their latent charms display:
 Even as in Nature's frame. . . . (iv, 70 ff.)

It is impossible to appreciate Akenside's poetic analysis of the pleasures of imagination, receptive and creative, without understanding one of the chief influences upon his concept of the imagination, the association of ideas. With the aid of the prose commentary Akenside himself has provided, the associationism embedded in his difficult poetic diction can easily be detected. In the 1744 version of the *Pleasures of Imagination* three closely related associationist concepts are significantly applied to esthetic effects and products. Akenside uses the results of Locke's and Hutcheson's analyses of the customary, chance and casual associations of ideas in order to show how imagination through habitual connections of natural objects comes to be affected by the beautiful and sublime. Following Addison closely, Akenside also relates how the powers of recollection augment the pleasures of the passive imagination. And, lastly, he clearly falls within the Hobbesian tradition when he describes how the associational memory helps the plastic powers of imagination "imitate" and remain close to nature. In the 1770 version Akenside employs an additional associationist concept. From Hume he borrows the conception of laws

of association and describes how the artist uses "secret laws" (no longer "mysterious ties") when producing an imitation that approximates nature's standards.

As in the works of Hobbes and Hume, there is in the *Pleasures of Imagination* a marked tendency to think of the associations of ideas as something "natural," as the means by which the neo-classical artist can abide by generally accepted standards in nature when producing a work of art. The poetic applications of Akenside are evidence of the increasingly important presence of the associationist psychology in the intellectual atmosphere surrounding writers of the mid-century period. Evidently, the abstruse psychology now became popular enough for adaptation by poets.

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TWO CHAUCER NOTES

1. CHAUCER ON MURDER: *De Petro Rege de Cipro*

The "worthy Petro, kyng of Cypre" (l. B²3581)¹ was not a fictitious nor a legendary character like most of the personages in the *Monk's Tale*; instead, he was a celebrated contemporary historical figure who had visited England on at least two notable occasions and whose father, Hughes IV, Chaucer himself may have seen in 1358 at the banquet given by King Edward III.² At all events, the historically authentic facts as to the circumstances of his death were matters of common knowledge in Chaucer's day—(1) Pierre (Petro) of Cyprus was assassinated by a group of his subjects whom he had ill-treated; (2) he was attacked when "up-right and outside his bed" ("*debout et hors de son lit*") "in the adjoining apartment" ("*en pièce voisine*"); and (3) he died at midnight of January 17-18, 1369.³ These are substantially,

¹ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 231.

² See my paper, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA* (1935), I, 77-80.

³ L. de Mas-Latrie, "Guillaume de Machaut et *La Prise d'Alexandrie*," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1876), xxxvii, 445-63.

then, the salient, correct, and known details of the tragical end of Pierre of Cyprus.⁴

Now, as to the foregoing well-documented facts, precisely nothing is said in the *Monk's Tale*; for in his account of this King, Chaucer, as elsewhere noted, follows the inaccurate statements in *La Prise d'Alexandrie* by Guillaume de Machaut, his favorite French poet. Both Chaucer and Machaut report (1) that Pierre was treacherously killed by his own disloyal subjects, (2) that "They in thy bedde han slayn thee" (l. B²3586), and (3) that he was killed early in the morning.⁵ Accordingly, the tragedy of Pierre of Cyprus is unique among all the tragedies in the *Monk's Tale* in being an un-historical account, based as it is on the fiction of Machaut.

Inasmuch as the historically accurate details of Pierre's death were well known, why did Chaucer elect to transcribe an inaccurate report? Not simply, one believes, to pay respect to Machaut or to practice translating French into English! In seeking to explain Chaucer's procedure in the *Monk's Tale*, it is important to recall that in the three other contemporary tragedies, or Modern Instances (*De Petro Rege Ispannie*; *De Barnabo de Lumbardia*; and *De Hugelino, Comite de Pize*), each person was brutally slain; so that in describing Pierre it would have been introducing a discordant element to report the truth—namely, that the King of Cyprus, who had been sleeping, not with his wife, but with his mistress,⁶ was killed by his own outraged subjects while he was in a position to defend himself, being then upright and outside his bed in an adjoining apartment. Thus, instead of reporting the true story, Chaucer chose to disregard history by saying that the king was slain in his bed early in the morning.

In making this statement, it is significant to observe, Chaucer patently states that Pierre, like the other personages in the Modern Instances, was nothing less than treacherously murdered. For the circumstances as explained by Chaucer are in medieval law tantamount to murder. According to the thirteenth-century legal compilation entitled *Les Etablissements de Saint Louis*, "Murder is when [*sic*] a man or woman is killed in their [*sic*] bed, or in any manner for which they are [*sic*] not *en mêlée*."⁷ The only other

⁴ See my paper, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ L. de Mas-Latrie, *loc. cit.*

⁷ J. W. Jeudwine, *Tort, Crime, and Police in Medieval Britain* (London, 1917), p. 33.

occurrence of bed-slaying in Chaucer makes it clear that he meant murder, for in the *Knight's Tale* he refers to "The tresoun of mordrynge in the bedde" (l. 2001).⁸ Chaucer, who was familiar with the legal code through wide experience at court and who indeed may once have been a student at the Inner Temple,⁹ thus would appear to have consciously depicted Pierre as the victim of murder when stating "They in thy bedde han slayn thee" (l. B²3586).

It is thus perfectly clear that in *De Petro Rege de Cypre* Chaucer chose to ignore the well-established data of popular contemporary history; also that when he selected Machaut's version for his source, he was altogether cognizant of the fact that he was as erroneously picturing King Pierre as the victim of what today might be termed first-degree murder. Did Chaucer merely mean to show that in his own day crimes were becoming increasingly violent, or did he intend reference to some high personage precariously situated at the English court by thus revising true history in order to emphasize murder as the horrendous motive of the so-called Modern Instances?

2. CHAUCER'S "BREETHEREN TWO" AND "THILKE WIKKE ENSAMPLE OF CANACEE."

In the *Squire's Tale* Chaucer names five members of a family group: Cambyuskan and his queen Elpheta, their sons Algarsif and Cambalo, and their daughter Canacee. All these personages are clearly identified except Cambalo, who is first named Cambalo (l. 31), then Cambalus (l. 656), and then again Cambalo (l. 667). Although the name is spelled in these two different ways, there seems no reason to doubt that reference is to one person. Chaucer last mentions him as follows: "And after wol I speke of Cambalo/ That faught in lystes with the bretheren two/ For Canacee er that he myghte hire wyne" (ll. 667-69).¹⁰ Now, it has sometimes been suggested that Cambalo was here inserted erroneously by a scribe, since it would appear unconventional for the brother Cambalo

* Compare the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (ll. 3004 ff.); see Robinson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁹ J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer* (New York, 1926), pp. 8, 10-12, 30.

¹⁰ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, 1933), p. 162.

to win his sister Canacee, especially if *win* is employed here, as it is five lines beforehand, in the sense of espouse.¹¹ On the other hand, the explanation that the "bretheren two" are Algarsif and Cambalo—and that the Cambalo who is to win Canacee is a different personage with the same name—appears distinctly improbable. First, as for the two spellings of the name, the other brother is once designated as Algarsyf (l. 31) and then later as Algarsif (l. 663); so that the variant spelling "Cambalus" for Cambalo has no special significance (compare Arcita for Arcite, Pandarus for Pandare). Moreover, as earlier noted by Professor Lowes,¹² the occurrence of the "two brothers motive" is not uncommon. What remains, then, as most probable is that Canacee's own brother Cambalo fought two other brothers, although no similar situation ever has been cited.

In this connection, it seems significant to observe that in the contemporary *Anonimalle Chronicle*¹³ there appears an arresting episode involving two brothers opposed to one man—

Mesme celle an mille CCCLXXVII deux freres iermayns et twynlynges de Inde queux furount Ethiops viendrent al roy Despaigne encontre la ley et foy de seint esglise dissauntz qe Dieu ne prist my chare ne saunk en la virgine Marie et ceo vodroient prover par bataille; et le custome de lour pais fuist et est qe deux twynlynges deveroient combatre en lieu de une homme, ovesqe une homme. . . . En celle temps furount enprisone del roy Despaigne vi chivalers et xvi esquiers Dengleterre, queux furount pris ovesqe le count de Penbrok . . . et au darrein une chivaler Dengleterre, monsire Johan de Harppenden nomme . . . prist la bataille . . . le dit chivaler occist le ayne frere et puis le pusne. . . .¹⁴

¹¹ Algarsif "wan Theodora to his wif" (l. 664).

¹² J. L. Lowes, "The *Squire's Tale* and the Land of Prester John," *Washington University Studies* (St. Louis, 1913), I, ii, 17.

¹³ V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle* (London, 1927), pp. 115-16.

¹⁴ *Loc cit.*—Mr. Richard Strawn, formerly one of my graduate students, translates from French into English:

In that same year 1377 two brothers-german, twinlings from India, who were Ethiops, came to the King of Spain, opposing the law and faith of the holy church, saying that God took no flesh nor blood from the Virgin Mary, which they would prove in battle; and the custom of their country was and is that the twins should fight in place of one man, against one man. . . . At this time there were imprisoned by the King of Spain six knights and sixteen squires of England, who were captured with the Count of Pembroke . . . and finally a knight from England, Sir John of Harpedon by name . . . accepted the challenge . . . the aforesaid knight killed the elder brother and then the younger.

The reference to "deux freres iermayns et twynlynges de Inde" is of high importance since it affords the first close parallel of Chaucer's allusion to the "bretheren two." Moreover, the strange knight visiting Cambyuskan's court, it will be recalled, was a representative of "The Kyng of Arabe and of Inde" (l. 110). It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that Cambalo fought against two brothers who followed this King of India. The Western custom in tournaments traditionally pitted one knight against another; and thus the Eastern practice of two knights against only one adversary Chaucer may have consciously added from some such source as this to deepen the Oriental atmosphere of the *Squire's Tale*.

As for Chaucer's knowledge of the incident, perhaps he was acquainted with a manuscript version of the contemporary *Anonimalle Chronicle*. Or, since his two friends Guichard d'Angle and Oton de Graunson (referred to in *The Complaint of Venus*, l. 82) were among the English captives imprisoned in Spain,¹⁵ it is altogether possible that he heard the story from them on their return to England in 1374. The story as told in the *Anonimalle Chronicle*, whether historically authentic or otherwise,¹⁶ would accordingly be easily accessible to Chaucer.

There is yet another datum bearing on the "bretheren two." Chaucer's Canacee-Falcon episode has for its closest analogue the Arabian tale of Tāj al-Mulūk and Princess Dunyā. In point of fact, this famous story from the *Arabian Nights*, elsewhere discussed more fully,¹⁷ concerns a family group strikingly similar to the one in the *Squire's Tale*; that is, Omar bin al-Nu'umān (Cambyuskan), his two sons Zau al-Makān (Algarsif) and Sharrkan (Cambalo), and his daughter Nuzhat al-Zamān (Canacee). What is still more important, the long narrative of the adventures of this Oriental family involves an incident which seems to parallel the situation in the *Squire's Tale*: namely, the fact that after a long separation which has rendered them unknown to each other Sharrkan unwittingly weds his sister Nuzhat al-Zamān.¹⁸

¹⁵ See my paper, "The Two Petros in the 'Monkes Tale,'" *PMLA* (1935), I, 77.

¹⁶ On Chaucer's use of contemporary historical material, spurious or authentic, see my paper, "Cambyuskan's Flying Horse and Charles VI's 'Cerf Volant,'" *MLR* (1938), xxxiii, 41 ff.

¹⁷ See my paper, "The Genre of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*," *JEGP* (1942), xli, 287 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

In thus entertaining the hypothesis that under similar circumstances Cambalo weds Canacee, one is obliged to consider Chaucer's remarks in the *Pardoner's Tale*: "Lo, how that dronken Looth unkyndely / Lay by his doghtres two, unwityngly; / So dronke he was he nyste what he wroghte" (ll. 485-87). Further, although the reference (unless it has more than one application) is to Gower's incestuous story of Canacee in *Confessio Amantis*, the Man of Law is speaking of Chaucer when he says:

But certeinly no word ne writeth he
Of thilke wikke ensample of Canacee,
That loved her owene brother synfully;
(Of swiche cursed stories I sey fy) [ll. 77-80].

Both these statements might be construed to show that Chaucer would have avoided the selection of incest as a motive in the *Canterbury Tales* were it not for the arresting occurrence of a pertinent passage on the marriage of cousins in the account of Hypermnestra in *The Legend of Good Women*:

To Danao and Egistes also—
Although so be that they were brethren two,
For thilke tyme was spared no lynage—
It lykede hem to make a maryage
Bytwixen Ypermystre and hym Lyno (ll. 2600-04).

Concerning this important statement that no degree of consanguinity was a bar to marriage, Professor Robinson remarks: "Chaucer seems to have had no authority for saying that the union was within the prohibited degrees."¹⁹

But as for the interpretation that Cambalo was to wed Canacee, Chaucer of course had for precedent the authority of the "storie" (l. 655) similar to the Arabian analogue. The story of incest in the *Arabian Nights* is both long and involved; and it is possible that Chaucer began his narrative before completing the account he was reading and accordingly determined to leave the *Squire's Tale* incomplete when he encountered the incest motive in the material he was studying. Whatever the circumstances, he appears to have retained as a reference to Oriental practice the significant detail about two brothers fighting as one man against one man. The least which can be said, therefore, is that the *Anonimale Chronicle*, al-

¹⁹ Robinson (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 969.

though it does not afford an instance of "thilke wikke ensample of Canacee," strengthens the hypothesis of Chaucer's use of the incest motive found in the Arabian analogue. In mentioning two brothers from India, this contemporary chronicle also unequivocally suggests that Canacee's own brother Cambalo was obliged to combat two brothers from India.

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"SYR BERTRAM THE BANER" IN THE MIDDLE-
ENGLISH ROMANCE *OTUEL AND ROLAND*

In the Middle-English romance *Otuel and Roland* there appears a strange knight fighting by the side of Roland and Oliver at the battle of Roncevaux. "Syr Bertram, the baner" the romance calls him, first in v. 2167 and once again in v. 2176.¹ There is no Bertram in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* from which the romancer took the names of the other Frenchmen who fought in that battle, and the only Bertram in the *Chanson de Roland* tradition is he of the Paris MS., to whom, however, nothing corresponding to the epithet "the baner" is applied.²

Who, then, is "Syr Bertram, the baner," and whence was he brought into *Otuel and Roland*? Miss O'Sullivan, the editor of the romance, describes him in her index of names merely after the indications of the text: "Roland's banner-bearer at Roncesvalles." One is led by a very natural association of ideas to interpret "baner" as "standard-bearer"; but does the word really have that meaning? The usual Middle-English word for "standard-bearer" is "bannerer." The word "baner," French "bannière," means "banner," and though originally it seems to have designated the place where the banner was raised, I know of no case in Old French or Middle-English where "bannière," "baner" connote

¹ *Firumbras and Otuel and Roland*, edited by Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan, EETS, Or. Series, No. 198 (London, 1935).

² See Ronald N. Walpole, *Charlemagne and Roland. A Study of the Source of Two Middle-English Metrical Romances*, "Roland and Vernagu" and "Otuel and Roland." Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Mod. Phil., vol. 21, No. 6, pp. 385-452.

the bearer of the banner and not the banner itself. In v. 1801 of *Otuel and Roland* the word "banere" has been altered in the manuscript to "banerer" by the addition in a later hand of "r."³ Evidently the "correction" is due to a misunderstanding, but it is interesting to note that the "corrector," wishing to read "standard-bearer" and not "standard," changed "banere" to "banerer." In the *Siege of Jerusalem*, v. 440, we read "baners beden hem forþ," and "baners" is glossed by Dr. Day as meaning "banner-bearers," and is derived from Old French "baneor."⁴ But by every indication of the context, this is the Old French word "banier" of which the Anglo-Norman form is "baner," and whose constant meaning in Old French is "crier of the ban," "public announcer," "herald."

Do we, then, have to interpret "Syr Bertram, the baner" as "Sir Bertram the herald?" The only epic figure that comes anywhere near the mark is Bertran, son of Naimes, often styled "li messagiers." He plays his outstanding rôle as messenger in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, where he acts as Charlemagne's ambassador to King Désier of Lombardy.⁵ In this poem the epithet "li messagiers" ("le messagier") is attached to his name no less than thirteen times. His message, the dangers of its undertaking and the uncompromising manner of its delivery, patterned after the famous exploit of his father Naimes in *Aspremont*,⁶ was a most popular episode, and Bertran, renewing his father's adventures, became at once a renowned figure among the late-comers on the epic scene. He is "Bertrans li messagiers" in *Gui de Bourgogne*,⁷ where, as one of the most esteemed among the forces of the "enfes Gui," he plays his part with a wisdom far beyond his years. He appears too in *Gaydon*⁸; and in what survives of the lost poem

³ Editor's footnote, p. 115.

⁴ *The Siege of Jerusalem*, edited by E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, EETS, Or. Series, No. 188 (London, 1932).

⁵ *Ogier le Danois. La chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche, par Raimbert de Paris. Poème du XII^e siècle. Romans des douze pairs de France, VIII.* 2 vols. (Paris, 1842.)

⁶ *La chanson d'Aspremont . . .*, edited by Louis Brandin, Classiques fr. du m.â., 2 vols. (Paris, 1919, 1920). See vol. I, vv. 1898 ff.

⁷ Ed. by F. Guessard, *Les anciens poètes de la France*, I (Paris, 1859).

⁸ Ed. by F. Guessard, *Les anciens poètes de la France*, VII (Paris, 1862).

*Doon de Nanteuil*⁹ he marries Pépin's daughter Olive, sister of Charlemagne. Bertran, son of Naimés, was therefore a famous hero, and there can be no doubt that along with Naimés, his more famous father and with Ogier, his still more famous foe, he was well known to readers or hearers of the English Carolingian romances. In *Duke Huon of Burdeux*, Naimés tries to comfort Charlemagne grieving over his son Charlot's death by reminding the Emperor of the fortitude with which he himself had borne the loss of Bertrand, his own son, "who bare your message of defyaunce to the kyng of Pauey."¹⁰

Yet shall we say on this evidence that "Syr Bertram, the baner" of *Otuel and Roland* is "Bertrans li messagiers" of the *Chevalerie Ogier* and *Gui de Bourgogne*? There is not the slightest textual authority for stretching the meaning of *baner* from "herald" to "messenger." Nor is Bertrans ever called *le banier*, *le baner* in French or Anglo-Norman poems. Other epithets attached to his name are "duc," "comte," "marchis," which titles fit such messengers as were Naimés and his son, but which do not seem to be at all in keeping with the functions proper to a "banier." Furthermore, "li messagiers" itself is not to be considered a generic epithet; in the *Chevalerie Ogier* and in *Gui*, Bertrans is styled "li messagiers" only in reference to the specific mission upon which he was momentarily engaged. No; to interpret "the baner" as "the messenger" and to see in the messenger Bertran son of Naimés, is to involve oneself in a double distortion that can permit no convincing identification.

For those who might still harbor a lingering association between "baner" and "standard-bearer," I should add that in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 4843, Bertran bears the oriflamme; in *Gaydon*, v. 5503, he is "confanonniér," and in *Gui de Bourgogne*, vv. 3403 ff., he plants an "enseigne vermeille" high on the conquered towers of Augorie. But the French tradition never speaks of him as "li gonfanoniers," nor does it give us any further inducement to

⁹ Paul Meyer, "La chanson de Doon de Nanteuil. Fragments inédits," in *Romania* XIII (1884), pp. 1-26. See p. 15, v. 26; p. 16, v. 46; p. 22, v. 172.

¹⁰ *The Boko of Duke Huon of Burdeux*, Part I. Edited by S. L. Lee. EETS, Extra Series, No. 40 (London, 1882). *The English Charlemagne Romances*, Part VII. See p. 33.

read into "baner" the meaning "gonfalonier." It was not as a famous messenger nor as a well-known standard-bearer that the English author set him side by side with Roland and Oliver in the final moments of their greatest fight.

This same Bertran, though in French epic poetry he may be described now as "li messagiers," now as "li senés," and now again as duke, count, or marquis, is always "le fils Naimon," son of duke Naimés, and duke Naimés, quite early though not originally, was known to the French epic tradition as "Naimés, duc de Bavière," "Naimés li bavière," "Naimon le bavier." Why, then, should "Syr Bertran, the baner" not be rather "Syr Bertran, the *bauer*," that is "Bertran le bavier," "Bertran the Bavarian"? Of "Naimés, duc de Bavière," it is scarcely necessary to speak. From the time of the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* on, that is, ever since the middle of the twelfth century, he was almost unfailingly associated with Bavaria.¹¹ Bertran, his son, created in the *Ogier* poems as if to prolong the memory of his father, so beloved by the jongleurs, was carefully introduced to audiences as "le fils de Namles" (*Chevalerie Ogier*, v. 3586). So Philippe Mouskés¹² says of him

L'estore Doon premiers [je] nomme
Quant il fist Bertran mesagier
Pour aler Nantuel asségier
Et cil Bertrans fu filz Namlon
De Baiwiere, le preu baron

(*Chronique rimée*, vv. 8426-8430)

and in *Gui de Bourgogne*, *passim*, he is thus spoken of. And yet, to clinch the identification of Syr Bertram with him, I can cite no case in a French poem of the precise counterpart to "Bertram the bauer," "Bertram le bavier." The nearest approach to it occurs in the *Chevalerie Ogier*, when Ponchonnet, Bertran's squire, is led captive before duke Robert at Dijon. Ponchonnet describes himself to the duke as being, like Bertran, "de Baiver" (vv. 3959-3961). But everywhere else the association of Bertran with Bavaria is through Naimés the duke, his father. So again in the *Chevalerie Ogier*:

¹¹ M. G. Moldenhauer, *Herzog Naimés in altfranzösischen Epos*. Romanistische Arbeiten, 9 (Halle, 1922).

¹² *Chronique rimée*, edited by Reiffenberg. Vol. I (Bruxelles, 1936).

Car c'est (viz. Bertran) li hom qu'il (viz. Ogier) plus
doute et crient
Lui e son pere duc Namon de Baivier. (vv. 4074-5)

Is this lack of a clear, textual reference to be a deterrent in this otherwise very plausible identification? Let us turn to the English romance and see what the poet was doing. Both mentions of Sir Bertran occur in the following single stanza (vv. 2167-2178):

tho syr bertram, the baner,
bothe Rouland, and eke Olyuer
and syr Gaumfres, the kyng,
Gonne tho to fyzt ful fast,
And al to ground tey caste,
Wel many a gret lordyng.
ffor-soth, Olyuer, and roulond tho,
Cleuen men and hors a-towo,
So þay fauȝt in þat þryng.
Syre bertram, þe baner,
Bothe roulond and Olyuer
Ne spared elde ne ȝong.

Throughout these verses, the romancer is embroidering the bare narrative of his source *Turpin*, adding these details of individual prowess. There is nothing surprising in the presence or exploits of Roland and Oliver here. But there is not a name or a deed in the corresponding passage of the source *Turpin* to explain why Syr Gaumfres, the kyng, should be here, still less anything to explain the presence of Syr Bertram, of whom the Pseudo-Turpin had never heard. Now Sir Gaumfres, the kyng, is unmistakably the Pseudo-Turpin's Gaifiers, rois de Bordeaux.¹³ Earlier in his chronicle, the Pseudo-Turpin has told us how King Gaifiers came with 3,000 men to join Charlemagne's army, and in a later chapter he is to tell us how, after Roncevaux, Gaifiers was buried in Bordeaux. But we are told no word of how Gaifiers fought in Roncevaux. Why should he be singled out by the English romancer for his present distinction? Obviously because he supplied a tail-rhyme to go with "lordyng" and with "þryng." "Syr Bertram, the bauer" does nothing else: he rhymes—and so much better than "the baner"—with "Olyuer," and our laboring romancer is so hard put to it, that he has to use him twice in one stanza for this

¹³ Walpole, *op. cit.*, p. 412 and esp. note 65.

same purpose. If one is asked, therefore, where Sir Bertram came from, one might fairly answer, "out of the hat"; "bauer" came first and "Bertram" came with it, bound to it first by tradition and then by alliteration. Sir Gaumfres lay near to hand, elsewhere in the romancer's immediate source, and "Sir Gaumfres the kyng" surely echoed in the rhymers' mind at the call of "lordyng" and "þryng." But Sir Bertram was a far cry. One is tempted to think that the hireling poet, laboring with fellow hacks at a common desk,¹⁴ enjoyed the facility of a common means of reference, no rhyming-dictionary, perhaps, but the opportunity to ask a prompting from the well stocked memories of his fellows, to any of whom he would, at need, have been ready to repay the service.

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LINE-NOTES ON THE EARLY ENGLISH LYRIC

Carleton Brown's *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* may profitably be taken up after a round of study in Emerson, Hall, or Sisam. So varied are the selections, however, that while the beginner may find some that are easy, few teachers will claim to have mastered them all. No. 89, for instance, "The Man in the Moon," was first printed in 1792, yet half a dozen obstacles must still be cleared from the reader's path. To make the going smoother I would mend the texts in several places and change a few lexical signposts.¹ These repairs are numbered by lyric and line, and "gl." points to entries in Brown's Glossary.

3. 48 *tegen*, gl. "(OE *tíon*, *téon*); declare, make known." For a rhyme to suit *arechen* (<OE *árécán*), l. 47, Morris and Zupitza read, no doubt correctly, 'teach' (<OE *tácan*).

¹⁴ For the working conditions under which *Otuel and Roland* was most probably composed see my note "The Source MS. of *Charlemagne and Roland* and the Auchinleck Bookshop" in *MLN* for Jan., 1945, vol. LX, pp. 22-26.

¹ Cf. the reviews in *TLS*, Jan. 12, 1933, p. 20, *Medium Aevum*, II (1933), 88-92, and *RES*, x (1934), 212-15; see further the "Notes on Middle English Lyrics" by Kemp Malone, *ELH*, II (1935), 58-65, and by R. J. Menner, *MLN*, LV (1940), 243-49.

10. A. 13 (*brith*) *an-siene*, as if for OE *ansten* 'countenance,' but not gl. under *onsene*. With MSS CJ read *brith an siene*, comparing other instances of the formula, e.g. 18. 53, 55. 21. That MS L errs in *brigst ne sene*, 10. B. 13, might prepare us for an error *ansiene*; perhaps the scribe was misled by *an* for *and* in his original, cf. 10. A. 4.

18. 37 *mere*, gl. 'mother,' and so the *NED*, s. v. *mere*, sb.⁴; the thought is commonplace, cp. *moder milde and maidan eo*, 17. A. 17, but note also 76. 9: *þis mai mere* 'this illustrious maid,' and *mayden mere*, *Rel. Lyr. of the XVth Century*, 15. 91. Mätzner (*Sprachproben*, I, 51) aptly cites OE *Marian, mægða weolman, mærræ meowlan, Christ* 445.

18. 58 *leuedi, tuet þov me mi bene. tuet* is gl. "(OE *tyhtan*); *urge, present urgently*," to which Malone countered with a simple emendation *cuet = queþ* (OE *cweðan*). The underlying verb is more likely OE *tīðian, tīðian*, 'grant, bestow'; cf. *leafdi . . . tuðe me mine bone, Lofsong of ure Lefdi* (OE *H* I, 207), quoted, along with two other occurrences of the phrase, in the *NED*, s. v. *tithe*, v.¹

24. 54 *wor-stong*, gl. 'pierce, transfix,' under *wor-stingen* "(= *for-stingen*)," an otherwise unrecorded compound. Read *þorstong* instead, comparing *þurew istungen*, 45. 18, *þur-stungen*, 49. B. 23 (OE *ðurhstingan*).

29. A. 27 *þi bout*. Unlikely because of the rhyme is Brown's suggestion (*Glossary*, s. v. *bout*, and *Notes*, p. 190) that the original was *þipout* 'without.' Although I would read, with Malone, either *þi [h]out* or *þi[n]* out 'thy belongings' (OE *æht + áwiht*), that the dead man's possessions should be burnt is unbelievable. Two notions, distinct in the Worcester Fragments, are here confused, viz. the burning of the 'bedstraw' (Frag. D. 14, as noted by Brown) and the division of the estate by the heirs, cf. *heo [we]ren grædie to gripen þine æikte; / nu heo hi dæleþ heom imong*, Frag. B. 13-4.

29. A. 45 *poneices* 'pennies' (so also MS D): B. 85 *þeines*. The latter is glossed among the W's as *þeines* "(? error for *þkines*)"—possibly a misprint. Malone held for an original *penies* or *þeines*, and I consider *þeines*, as Morris read MS J, more probable; cp. *p* for *þ* at 29. B. 8, 82, 128, and Worcester Frag. B. 13: *hwar beoþ [sibbe] þe seten sori ofer þe?* In the present context the personal note is carried forward from *frend*, A. 41, *loue paralleling faire*; the 'thanes' seize the *riche weden* of line A. 46.

29. A. 51 *wonde*: B. 56 *ponde* (so also MSS DJ), gl. 'the evil one, the Devil,' with derivation from ON *váendr*, adj., 'evil' (so Morris, Stratmann-Bradley, and the *NED*). No other English examples occur, however, and the strain upon syntax and metaphor is scarcely removed by Danish *den onde* 'the devil.' As in 13. 6, 71. 19, *putte* here means 'grave' rather than 'hell,' and the devil does not take charge until after doomsday, cf. A. 75 (= B. 107). Interpret *wonde*, therefore, as 'mole,' in spite of difficulties raised in the *NED*, s. v. *want*, sb.¹ Then *to wonien wic þe wonde* is a metaphor for "to dwell underground."

47. 49 *Welle wat*. The Note promised in the *Glossary*, s. v. *pel*, is not forthcoming, and it is hard to understand Jacoby's punctuation *Welle, wat*. Read *Well'e wat* 'well I know,' but cf. also *Wel he wot*, 17. B. 37.

49. B. 37 *mitarst*, gl. "?(mid aerest); now for the first time," cp. ME *on earst*, at *arst*. Another solution could be *mi[d] t[e]lar[e]s tþu mith leren*, "in tears thou mayest learn;" for the theme, cf. 4. 13, 47. 37.

51. 163 *I-tint is al mi fiȝt / þis day me þencheþ niȝt*. As the context shows, *fiȝt* is surely an error for *sigt* (= *syht*, MS Harley 2253); the scribe has anticipated l. 220: *Astunt is nou mi fiȝt*.

61. 8 *þe me zarked bale to bréope*. *me* is a blunder for *Eue*; cf. *þat Eue bitterliche us breūȝ*, 60. 30.

65. 17 None of the words is glossed, and I do not understand the line. "Nor hinder me not from knowing [Him] whom thou didst bear"? Or is *ler* = OE *hléor* 'cheek'? Then paraphrase: "Turn not thy face from me;" cp. *þi face to se, / þu grant hit me*, ll. 31-2.

71 *Proprietates Mortis*. For the native English tradition, cf. in addition to Brown's references, p. 221: *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, Homily XXX, p. 147; *Vercelli Homilies*, ed. Förster (*Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach* [Halle, 1913]), Homily IX, p. 107; and the passing remark in *Aelfric's Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 614.

74. 2 *fforte cocke wiþ knyf nast þou none nede*, i. e. God is not limited to physical devices. Cf. *Ae. Legenden, N. F.*, ed. Horstmann (Heilbronn, 1881), p. 367, l. 30: *I scluȝe my-selue with-outene knyffe*, to wit, with sin (see further Horstmann's note, p. 529), *Ipomedon*, ed. Kölbing (Breslau, 1899), p. 442.

75. 26 *berne best*. I stated wrongly, *MLN*, LVIII (1943), 111, that this alliterative combination does not occur in OE; cf. *Wulfstan*, ed. Napier, p. 14, l. 15: *of heora cynne syððan geboren wearð ealra bearna betst, þe afre geboren wurde, þæt was ure drihten Crist*. In ME, however, the term is extended, e. g. to John the Baptist, *þæt was alre bern best wiþoute ihū crist, Geburt Jesu* 315-16 (similarly, *Early South-English Legendary* [ed. Horstmann, EETS 87], p. 29, l. 1, p. 365, l. 17), and even to secular heroes, cf. Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, I, 279, l. 42, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 72: *þe best burne ay abof*.

83. 68 (in) *lyhte*, gl. "(ON *hlita* [sic]); expectation." Read as one word, *inlyhte* 'illuminated,' comparing ll. 22-3; for the loss of -d in rhyme, cp. *fleme*, 75. 64, 81. 36.

89 *The Man in the Moon*. Missing from the editors' notes is a reference to *Piers Plowman*, C-Text, XIV, 43 ff., where, as a penalty for trespassing,

Other hus hatt other hus hode · othere elles hus gloues
The marchaunt mot for-go · othere moneye of hus porse.

Clarifying the oblique jibe at *wedes* in line 8, this passage reveals a basic condition of the poem: many days ago the man in the moon was caught hewing briars, for which offense he lost *hus hode* to the hayward, and now *muche chele he byd*. So he gathers stakes in hope of closing tight his doors against the frost; but too slow to get away with a full load, he loses his day's work every night. "Bring the pack home," cries the poet, "my dame and I will get the hayward drunk and redeem your clothes at the bailiff's." But the churl won't come down till the day dawns and the hayward is beyond the reach of "full good booze."

89.3 *nadoun*, gl. "(= ne adoun)," which would be bad syntax; read instead *na down*, translating "that he never slides down."

89.13 *wher*, as in line 18, is best rendered 'though,' as if equivalent to *poh-wheper*.

89.35 *zeje*, gl. "(ON gá); gape, stare." Much better is Bøddeker's "(alt. geyja) schreien;" but see Hall, *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1931), s. v. *gēgan* 'to cry out.' The phrase *vpon heh* means 'aloud,' cf. *zejed . . . on hiz*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, l. 67. *nulle* = null'e 'he won't' (Bøddeker: "als Subjekt ist 'he' zu ergänzen"); full stop after *hye*.

89.37 *hosede pye*. Bøddeker: "Weinpastete (?), zu *osey* (?), Benennung einer Weinsorte;" Brown: "hoarse magpie," taken literally. But it seems to me that 'hosed pie' (*pica caligata*) is a sarcastic kenning applied to Hubert, the man in the moon—now we know *what wedes he wereþ*—because he picks up sticks like a magpie in nesting-time.

89.38 *Ichot þat a-marscled in-to þe mawe*. Brown recovered the correct MS reading *amarscled*, which he explained as 'marshalled.' In this word, however, we probably have a metathesis of *ME malscred* 'bewildered;' cf. OE *malscrung* and the *NED*, s. v. *maskering*. Read: "I see you are crazy to the core"—in short, a lunatic.

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A DRUIDIC LITURGY IN *OGAM BRICREND*?

A scribe of the Book of Ballymote, at the bottom of p. 311, has penned a six-line composition in the cryptic alphabet of Bricriu. Less poisonous than cumbersome, the cipher seems unworthy of the hero whose epithet was Nemthenga, for the number of strokes or points per letter depends merely on its position in the *beith-luis-nin*: one for B, that is, and twenty for I.¹

The straggling rows of pinked text drew but idle curiosity until Macalister inspected them closely while at work on *The Secret Languages of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1937). He reports on that examination, and transliterates the signs into roman caps.:

I have counted through these tedious letters on three separate occasions, and, admitting slight doubt as to the number of scores or dots in one or two worn places, I can make of them no more than the following unintelligible sequence:

¹ See the facsimile edition, *loc. cit.*, and George Calder, *Auraicept na nEces* (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 300.

UESG $\frac{I}{E}$ SLEBINIMSASACOO
 FBHEGO η ERE η IN
 QI η NUSADEOCDS
 $\frac{GL}{St}$ IM $\frac{D}{FS}$ UINNTESG
 SSB $\frac{L}{V}$ USTTBESLUSAGC
 $Q\frac{N}{BS}$ GOLUSAIR²

Having decided that this "produces nothing but gibberish," Macalister was moved to take the message as a double cryptogram, with letter substitutions; but his statistical method indicated that the frequency of letters accorded well with data from the ogham inscriptions. Hence, he suggested, "in this queer scribble we have a note of some magical abracadabra, a mumbo-jumbo liturgical formula, which had somehow fluttered out of the dark recesses of paganism."

From this premise Macalister went on to construct an original text. Noticing that some of the material is pronounceable, rhythmical, and in rhyme, he devised another explanation for the rest:

These rows of [unpronounceable] letters may conceivably be the *initials* of liturgical formulae, chanted by the subordinate officials, in response to the versified 'words of power' uttered by the arch-druid. The unknown words would make the whole ceremony extremely impressive, though unfortunately we cannot write the ritual out in full:

V 1 UESGISLEBIN IMSASA!
 R 1 *c.o.o.f.b.h.e.*
 V 2 GO η ERE η IN QI η NUSA!
 R 2 *d.e.o.c.d.s.*
 V 3 GLIMDU \ddot{U} INNTES--
 R 3 *g.s.s.b.l.u.s.t.t.*
 V 4 --BESLUSA!
 R 4 *g.c.q.n.*
 V 5 GOLUSA!
 R 5 *i.r.*

If this explanation be right, it is something to have recovered even so much of a druidic liturgy. If it be wrong, and some one else hits on a better one, I shall be the first to congratulate him and to accept it.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 56. In deference to the printer I omit the apparently meaningless dots superimposed over some of the letters. Macalister notes that the final DS in line 3 is doubtful, and that the final SG in line 4 is worn.

In reply to an offer so forthright, we could wish only that Professor Macalister had been blessed with a luck to match his diligence. He would surely accept an interpretation for which, since he has made it possible by printing the text, congratulation is unnecessary. By accident I was rereading this passage in his book soon after copying out some of the glosses in the *Duil Droma Ceta*, which Stokes edited from MS. H. 3. 18.³ A glance at § 173 in that collection, and at *O'Davoren's Glossary*, §§ 329, 1165, reveals the true nature of our cryptogram: it is an unsavory quatrain ascribed to Flann mac Lónain († 918). Here is the version in *O'Mulconry's Glossary*, § 180, followed by Meyer's translation:⁴

Uisce slébi nīmsāsa
coibche co ngeire ŋg[n]ūssa
deog daim duind techtus blūsair
bes lūsair ceinib lūssa.

Mountain-water does not satisfy me, a boon that makes one pull a wry face—the drink of a fallow deer that bellows, maybe it is enjoyed, though I enjoy it not.

Compared with these verses, Macalister's rendering shows discrepancy mainly at the ends of the lines. The enjambement between lines one and two, for instance, O (17 points) plus F (3 points), should be I (20 points), without a break in mid-letter. To the reader will be left the mild sport of calculating these details in *Ogam Bricrend*, but he may feel assured that the solution works out rather more easily than many a three-mover chess problem.

With a warning that the Ballymote scribe has in one instance been guilty of dittography, an error here ignored so that the decipherment may still be worthy of attempt, I convert the dots and dashes of the manuscript into a character less tiring on the eyes:

Uisge slébi nīm·sāsa,
coib[c]he gon·gére n-gnúsa;
deoc daim duinn techt[a]s blusar
bes lūsar gen go lūsa.⁵

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³ Whitley Stokes, "Irish Glosses [etc.]," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1859, pp. 168-215.

⁴ Cf. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, x (1915), 349.

⁵ The cipher, like O'Mulconry, reads *lūsair*, but I follow Stokes and Meyer in the emendation.

BERNARD THE MONK: POSTSCRIPT

Two quotations from Francis Thynne supply a postscript to Professor Roland M. Smith's recent article in this journal, "The Limited Vision of St. Bernard."¹ In the Middle English "Lamentation of Mary to St. Bernard" Mr. Smith finds interesting evidence for the traditional view, questioned of late, that St. Bernard is the seer referred to by Chaucer in *LGW* 16, "Bernard the monk ne saugh nat all, pardee!" Thynne's use of the saying points to the same conclusion; it likewise supports the opinion expressed by Skeat and by Robinson that Chaucer was merely repeating a proverb, a view opposed by Mr. Smith,² notwithstanding the Latin gloss found in some of the manuscripts of *LGW*, *Bernardus monachus non uidit omnia*.

Thynne in the Dedicatory Epistle of his *Perfect Ambassador* (1578-9) makes this apology for oversights in his work:

In which (my good Lord) if anything shall be found, that for want of more diligent search may seem faulty, consider that '*Bernardus non videt omnia*.' Wee are no Gods, wee can say no more than reasonable conjecture or former Authority may lead us unto.³

Again Thynne uses the proverb, as he calls it, when at the beginning of his *Animadversions* (1598) he prepares to list errors in Speght's edition of Chaucer:

Yet since there is nothinge so fullye perfected, by anye one, whereine somme imperfectione maye not bee founde, (for as the proverbe is, '*Barnardus*,' or as others have, '*Alanus, non videt omnia*,') you must be contented to gyve me leave to enter into the examination of this newe editione.⁴

Here the mention of Alanus—surely no other than Alanus de Insulis, "Alain the Great," the Universal Doctor—as a customary alternative for Bernard in the adage suggests Bernard of Clairvaux; for Alain, like St. Bernard, was associated with the Abbey of Cîteaux, and both monks were credited with profound erudition and

¹ Roland M. Smith, "The Limited Vision of St. Bernard," *MLN* 60 (Jan., 1946), 38-44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44, n. 29.

³ Thynne's *Animadversions*, Publications of the Chaucer Society, 2nd series, 13. lxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

insight. So renowned was Alain for uncanny intellectual powers that, according to legend, a scholar worsted in a disputation cried out that his opponent must be "either Alain or the devil."⁵ And St. Bernard, reputed to have seen God essentially (*per essentiam*) while still in the flesh,⁶ was fitly chosen by Dante as the symbol of that contemplation by which men attain to a vision of the Deity. Thus St. Bernard may well have been proverbial as the mediaeval seer extraordinary. This reputation would have added point to the "Lamentation," which indicates some of the limits of his vision.

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THE TRIPLE TUN

Herrick's generous lines to Ben Jonson commemorating the lyric feasts

Made at the Sun,
The Dog, the Triple Tun

are a noteworthy reflection of the attitude of the younger poet toward his older and more distinguished contemporary. Commentators on the lines quoted inevitably point out that the reference is to taverns haunted by some of the younger literati and especially the Tribe of Ben. Actually, however, there was no such tavern as the Triple Tun. Hebel and Hudson are entirely correct in noting that "the actual name of the third was the Three Tuns."¹ Why then did the poet prefer *Triple Tun*? One might naturally have expected him to use the actual name, especially since he does so when mentioning the other taverns. A brief examination of the two pairs, however, makes clear the reasons for the choice: the poet was able to rime *Tun* with *Sun* and, at the same time, the dissyllabic *Triple*, with its weak syllable, was obviously to be preferred to the monosyllabic *Three*. The requirements of rime and scansion, in other words, explain the poet's liberty.

What kind of establishment was the famous *Three Tuns*? The

⁵ *Catholic Encyclopaedia* under "Alain de Lille."

⁶ See Wicksteed's note on *Paradiso* 31. 109-11, Temple edition, p. 385.

¹ *English Poetry of the Renaissance, 1509-1660*, New York, 1932, p. 1012.

note by Hebel and Hudson already cited is not quite so precise as it might seem to be, for in Elizabethan London there were several taverns known as the Three Tuns (or Tonnes). Exactly which of these was one of the favorite gathering places for Jonson and his friends cannot be determined but there is a strong probability that the famous tavern was the Three Tuns, Bankside. The evidence for this is in the form of an agreement wherein one Thomas Hippyse leases his Bankside tavern to Thomas Gybons. Dated July 20, 1570, it reads in part as follows:

An Indenture between Thos. Gybons of Ditchley, Oxford, & Thos. Hippyse, citizen & vynter of London . . . doth lett . . . all that messuage or Tement with a garden . . . nowe commonlye called or knowne by the name & signe of the Three Tonnes wherin he the said Thos. Hippyse nowe dwelleth upon the Banckside . . . And all and singula Shopps cellers sellers Lofts chambers garretts Roomes Yards gardens Lights watercourses wharff & other casements. . . .²

Since it is obvious enough that Bankside would be a part of London frequented by the literary folk of that period, the probability is great that Herrick's Triple Tun is the one being described.

This passage is of further interest to the twentieth-century reader of Herrick's famous ode for what it reveals about the property. Quite obviously the Three Tonnes was not just a cozy little drinking place but, rather, a relatively extensive establishment, as is suggested by the mention of shops, cellars, lofts, chambers, garrets, rooms, yards, gardens, watercourses, wharf, and "other casements."

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MILTON'S COMMONPLACE BOOK, FOLIO 20

De Morte

Mortem esse finem ærumnarum. Theophrastus.

Quietem infelicium Caesar. et neuter eorum

immortalitatem animæ agnovit. Bodin: c. 5. l. 2.

Folio 20 of Milton's Commonplace Book consists of the heading and single entry from Bodin printed above; and on Milton's

² Cf. catalogue no. 343 of Myers & Co. (London), p. 29, item 237, from which the passage is quoted exactly as reproduced therein.

connection with this page, editors have not agreed. A. J. Horwood¹ presented the folio as entirely the work of Lord Preston. The editors of the Columbia edition²—who omitted the Lord Preston entries—reprinted the heading and entry with the following note: "The heading is in Milton's hand, the rest in that of Lord Preston or an amanuensis of Milton. The text is included with reservation." Careful study, however, of the handwriting and of certain other of Lord Preston's entries will show clearly that Milton wrote only the initial word "De," and that the rest of the folio is the work of Lord Preston, who apparently never served as Milton's amanuensis.³

That Milton inscribed the "De" in the heading of folio 20 is evident from the similarity that the word shows to other instances of the same preposition as it appears in Milton's handwriting.⁴ The bold, Italian "e," which characterizes Milton's writing after his visit to Italy, stands in marked contrast to the Greek epsilon "e" which appears consistently in the remainder of folio 20 and in recognized specimens of Lord Preston's handwriting.⁵

That "Morte" of the heading is not the writing of Milton is likewise obvious if one compares the initial letter of this word with Milton's characteristic *M* as it appears in the heading of folio 114 ("De Matrimonio"). The *M* of "Morte" resembles rather that found in Lord Preston's heading to folio 199 ("Monarchia"). The evidence of the *e*'s, the *M*'s, and the general character of the handwriting therefore indicates that "Morte," the entire entry, and the reference to folio 20 in the index were all written by Lord Preston.

Corroboration of this conclusion appears in the some seventy-four other Bodin entries found on folios 187, 189, 195, 199, 200,

¹ *A Common-place Book of John Milton* (Camden Society, n.s. XVI), Westminster, 1877, p. 5.

² XVIII, 506.

³ Horwood, *op. cit.*, pp. xix-xx; *PMLA.*, xxxvi (1921), 254.

⁴ A. J. Horwood, *A Common-place Book of John Milton*, reproduced from the original manuscript. London, 1876. See particularly the headings of folios 19, 114, and the index entries "De fortitudine. 18." and "De Duellis. 19." on the page following folio 249.

⁵ *Ibid.*, folio 199 and the index entries "De Rhetorica 59" and "De Voluntate 78." Lord Preston's handwriting is easily identified by comparison with the large collection of his papers preserved in the Public Record Office.

202, 248. All of these appear in Lord Preston's handwriting, and all represent that nobleman's reading of Book II, chapters 2-5, of a 1606 translation of the *De Republica*,⁶ that portion of the book found between pages 197 and 229. The entry on folio 20 comes from page 226; and elsewhere in the Commonplace Book (folios 187, 248) are five other Lord Preston notes from the same page.⁷ This 1606 translation of Bodin, finally, was listed among the books of Lord Preston sold in London in 1696.⁸

Both Horwood and the Columbia editors err, consequently, in their presentation of folio 20 of Milton's Commonplace Book. The history of this page seems to have been as follows. At some time after his return from Italy, Milton started to use the folio; but after writing "De" of the contemplated heading, he changed his mind; and so the page remained until after his death. Then, while making his numerous notes on Bodin, Lord Preston found folio 20 all but empty; and thriftily deciding to utilize it, he added "Morte" to the heading that Milton had begun, made the entry that now appears below it, and added the reference in the index. The next editor of the Commonplace Book may therefore safely omit folio 20 from his edition and explain his omission in a note. If he aims, however, at a rigorous exactness, he can print—as the Miltonic part of that folio—only the preposition "De."

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JAMES THOMSON RECOLLECTS HAGLEY PARK

During the summer of 1743, James Thomson was invited by his friend and patron, Lord Lyttelton, to make an extended visit to the nobleman's country seat in Worcestershire. Being engaged on revisions for a new edition of *The Seasons* at the time, he postponed

⁶ *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. Written by I. Bodin . . . done into English, by Richard Knolles*, London, 1606. Lord Preston refers sporadically to the work as "edit: Ang: Lond: 1606." Milton also refers to Bodin (folio 112), but to Book I, and possibly to a Latin edition.

⁷ On folios 189, 200, Lord Preston also cites p. 226, but the references are actually to p. 228, which is misnumbered 226 in this edition.

⁸ Horwood, *op. cit.*, 1877, p. xix.

the trip until the end of August, only to find the estate, Hagley Park, all the more beautiful upon his arrival. It is apparent from the letter written to Lord Lyttelton in anticipation of the visit that Thomson had never actually seen Hagley Park before: "Hagley is the place in England I most desire to see; I imagine it to be greatly delightful in itself, and I know it to be so to the highest degree by the company it is animated with."¹ But, as he wrote Miss Young,² the somewhat cool recipient of past letters from the admiring poet, on 29 August, the place met all his expectations:

After a disagreeable stage-coach journey, disagreeable in itself, and infinitely so as it carried me from you, I am come to the most agreeable place and company in the world. The park, where we pass a great part of our time, is thoroughly delightful, quite enchanting. It consists of several little hills, finely tufted with wood, and rising softly one above another; from which are seen a great variety of at once beautiful and grand extensive prospects: but I am most charmed with its sweet embowered retirements, and particularly with a winding dale that runs through the middle of it. This dale is overhung with deep woods, and enlivened by a stream, that, now gushing from mossy rocks, now falling in cascades, and now spreading into a calm length of water, forms the most natural and pleasing scene imaginable. At the source of this water, composed of some pretty rills, that purl from beneath the roots of oaks, there is as fine a retired seat as lover's heart could wish. There I often sit, and with a dear exquisite mixture of pleasure and pain of all that love can boast of excellent and tender, think of you.³ . . .

In any event, it is interesting that when the revised version of *Spring* was issued the following year (in the 1744 edition of *The Seasons*, which Thomson had been at work on before—and possibly during—his visit to Hagley), it contained a glowing description of Hagley Park:

These are the Sacred Feelings of thy Heart,
Thy Heart inform'd by Reason's purest Ray,
O Lyttelton, the Friend! thy Passions thus
And Meditations vary, as at large,

¹ Sir Harris Nicholas, "Memoir of Thomson," *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, Boston, 1854, p. xcic.

² Sir Harris Nicholas writes that Thomson was "warmly attached" to the young lady, and had already unsuccessfully proposed to her. "Her beauty and merits," says Nicholas, "he repeatedly celebrated under the name of Amada." *Memoir*, p. xciv.

³ *Memoir*, Nicholas, pp. c-ci.

Courting the Muse, thro' Hagley-Park you stray,
 Thy British Tempe! There along the Dale,
 With Woods o'er-hung, and shag'd with mossy Rocks,
 Whence on each hand the gushing Waters play
 And down the rough Cascade white-dashing fall,
 Or gleam in lengthen'd Vista thro' the Trees,
 You silent steal; or sit beneath the Shade
 Of solemn Oaks, that tuft the swelling Mounts
 Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless Hand,
 And pensive listen to the various Voice
 Of rural Peace: the Herds, the Flocks, the Birds,
 The hollow-whispering Breeze, the Complaint of Rills,
 That, purling down amid the twisted Roots
 Which creep around, their dewy Murmurs shake
 On the sooth'd Ear . . .
 Perhaps thy lov'd Lucinda shares thy walk,
 With Soul to thine attun'd. Then Nature all
 Wears to the Lover's Eye a Look of Love;
 And all the Tumult of a guilty World,
 Tost by ungenerous Passions, sinks away . . .⁴

Miss Young should easily have recognized the scene, for it is almost identical to the one Thomson described for her in his letter of the previous year.

One wonders at his keen memory for that vividly worded picture. Or did he have an actual copy of his letter before him? In either case, the poetry certainly corresponds with the phraseology of the letter (shown, as follows, in brackets): "There along the Dale," states his verse ["winding dale"], "with Woods o'er-hung" ["overhung with deep woods"], "Waters" that "down the rough Cascade white-dashing fall, / Or gleam in lengthen'd Vista" ["stream, that . . . now falling in cascades, and now spreading into a calm length of water"]; and sitting "beneath the Shade / Of solemn Oaks, that tuft the swelling Mounts / Thrown graceful round by Nature's careless Hand" ["several little hills, finely tufted with wood, and rising softly one above another"], hear "the Complaint of Rills, / That, purling down amid the twisted Roots / Which creep around" . . . ["At the source of this water, composed of some pretty rills, that purl from beneath the roots of oaks, there is as fine a retired seat" . . .]. Finally, substituting

⁴ Otto Zippel, *Thomson's Seasons. Critical Edition*, Palaestra, LXVI, Berlin, 1908. "Spring," Text C, ll. 901-37.

for Miss Young whom, in his letter, he had wished beside him ["There I often sit, and with a . . . mixture . . . of all that love can boast of excellent and tender, think of you."], he pictures Lyttelton's wife Lucinda as accompanying her lord about this enchanted ground: "Perhaps thy lov'd Lucinda shares thy Walk, / With Soul to thine attun'd. Then Nature all / Wears to the Lover's Eye a Look of Love" . . . And even this last association, while necessarily of different persons, follows the pattern of sentiment adumbrated in the letter.

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LORD CHESTERFIELD AND "DECORUM"

In one of his famous essays written several months before the publication of Johnson's *Dictionary*, Lord Chesterfield speaks of the necessity for "good order and authority" in order to rescue the language from a state of anarchy and proceeds:

We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and chuse a dictator. Upon this principle I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship.¹

Yet in another paper written for the same periodical in the year following the publication of Johnson's work, Chesterfield shows himself unwilling to follow this dictator.²

Chesterfield was making a thoroughly serious attempt to find an English equivalent for the French *les mœurs*. "Manners are too little, morals too much. I should define it thus; a *general exterior decency, fitness, and propriety of conduct in the common intercourse of life*." And he picks *decorum* for his equivalent, citing Cicero, who "makes use of the word . . . in this sense," as his authority. He then recommends "a strict observance of this *decorum*" to "the most sensible and informed part of mankind, I mean people of fashion" because it "does not extend to religious or moral duties, does not prohibit the solid enjoyments of vice, but only throws a veil of decency between it and the vulgar, con-

¹ *World* 100, Nov. 28, 1754.

² *World* 189, Aug. 12, 1756.

ceals part of its native deformity, and prevents scandal, and bad example." Because "a certain exterior purity and dignity of character, commands respect, procures credit, and invites confidence," such behavior would prove advantageous to courtiers, patriots, masters of households, and both married and unmarried ladies. What he says is of no concern to the middle class who "have not yet shaken off the prejudices of their education" and whom "the rational system of materialism has not yet reached."

There is no historical justification for the meaning which he seeks to impose upon *decorum*. Cicero uses the word in a discussion of virtue and says it is indistinguishable from *honestum*.³ In English it occurs first in the sixteenth century with reference to what was seemly, fitting, or proper in dramatic or literary characters,⁴ but was soon carried over to refer to the actions and behavior of real persons. The early dictionaries were not explicit as to the meaning, Edward Phillips, for example, in *The New World of Words* contenting himself with listing several general synonyms: good grace, order, decency. But as early as 1707 the *Glossographia Anglicana Nova* gave the word an entirely different connotation from that of Chesterfield when it defined *decorum* as "that Comliness, Order, Decency, which it becomes every Man to observe in all his Actions."⁵ Johnson likewise is directly opposed to Chesterfield's idea of external seemliness; *decorum* is "decency; behaviour contrary to licentiousness; contrary to levity; seemliness." Here, as often, mankind has rejected the innovation and clung to the historical interpretation which bore the sanction of the dictator.

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MIT ABEGEWENDETEM BLICK

In Goethe's *Pandora*, that great sister work to the *Helena* Act, one of the lyrics begins:

³ *De Officiis*, I, 27, §§ 93-94.

⁴ The *NED* lists no examples earlier than Roger Ascham's use of the term in his *Scholemaster* (1st ed. 1570).

⁵ Nathan Bailey seems to have combined these two to arrive at his definition: "that decency, good order, good grace, which it becomes every man to observe in all his actions" (*Dictionary Britannicum*, 1730 ed.).

Wer von der Schönen zu scheiden verdammt ist,
Fliehe mit abegewendetem Blick!

The unusual *abegewendet*, which even recurs at the end once more, might, for some readers, mar the poem, because they could see in it a precious or unnecessary substitute for *abgewendet*, as, indeed, all the comments suggest. Too obviously, it could seem, a form has been renewed that already was dead.

Fr. Strehlke, the chief commentator of *Pandora*, explains the passage with: "‘Abe’ ist mhd. Form, die Goethe noch einmal in der Form ‘abestürzen’ anwendet."¹

The passage in question occurs in *Faust II*:

Wasserstrom der abestürzt.

Here, the comment is less laconic:

Die alte Luthersche Form "abe" ("Wenn ich dran klopfe an der Bibel—fällt ein Apfel erabe") war bis ins vorige Jahrhundert üblich. Vergl. Nibelungen (V. 152): "abe lichten schildesspanen;" Logau: "muss dem Leben abesagen;" Hans von Schweinichen: "kaufte ich mich abe," sie "liessen nicht abe" u. A. m.²

Another comment can be found in the Kürschner edition:

Die Form *abe* für *ab* bemerken wir auch im *Faust II*, 7281. Scherers Annahme, dass Goethe sie aus dem Nibelungenliede habe, ist unhaltbar. Sie kommt auch vor bei Luther, wie im ersten Faustbuch.³

Strehlke's comments do not differentiate between the two meanings of MHG *abe*: 1. off, away or 2. down, downward. The examples given use *abe* with both meanings indiscriminately. Grimm (I, 8) clearly states that *ab*, OHG *apa*, MHG *abe*, is used both as *deorsum* and *seorsum*. Among his examples for recent usage of the old *abe* he lists only the *Faust* passage.

Both Strehlke and Schröer fail to make clear that, although *abegewendet* might stand for *abgewendet*, *abestürzt* cannot be substituted by *abstürzt*, which would be meaningless and wrong in the *Faust* passage.

Now, *abe* in the sense of "away," as in *abgewendet*, is, and was at Goethe's time, obsolete; in the sense of *downward*, however, it was, and still is, a very common part of living language, i. e. in sections

¹ *Goethes Werke*, ed. Dr. Fr. Strehlke (Leipzig: Hempel, n. d.) x, 370.

² *Ibid.*, xiii, 236.

³ *Goethes Werke*, ed. K. J. Schröer (Berlin: Spemann, n. d.), x, 132.

of Suabia and Bavaria, in Austria and in Switzerland, where *herunter*, *hernieder* are expressed by the prefix *abe* or *abi*. The Swiss *Idiotikon* (II, 1319) gives "ab-hin (-her) 1. räumlich, hin-, herab," and lists the subsequent forms of "*äbe* bzw. *äbe*" for many parts of the country: "Es häd *abe* (bis ins Tal herunter) g'schneit." Similarly, H. Fischer's *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* (I, 10) says, under the entry *abe*: "abhin," hinab, abwärts. Von (hi)na(b) dadurch verschieden, dass bei diesem mehr das Ziel, bei *abe* mehr die Bewegung ins Auge gefasst wird. . . . *Den Berg abe*, den Berg hinab udgl.

Could it be possible that Goethe had this meaning of the prefix in his working vocabulary? His travels in Switzerland, his acquaintance with Johannes von Müller and, above all, with Meyer, who spoke with a heavy Swiss accent, have certainly made him familiar with at least the Swiss usage of the prefix. The *Faust* passage, moreover, clearly must be read as *downward*, *niederstürzt*, which makes it more likely that Goethe used the prefix in *Pandora* in the same sense.

Another consideration is that "fliehe mit abegewendetem Blick" would be either redundant or a contradiction in terms, if one read it as *abgewendet*, whereas, in the sense of *niedergewendet*, it is perfectly clear.

We may, therefore, conclude, that the passage in question is, probably, not some antiquated and rather farfetched form to satisfy the demands of the dactylic metre, but, as *niedergewendet*, a form with which Goethe had a living contact, and which he also used in *Faust*.

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REVIEWS

Chateaubriand. Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem. Edition critique en deux volumes par EMILE MALAKIS. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. Pp. xxxviii + 408 et 492. \$12.50.

Une série d'études inspirée naguère par M. Chinard avait apporté sur Chateaubriand les précisions les plus utiles qu'ait suscitées en Amérique aucun écrivain français moderne. De la même université

Johns Hopkins parviennent aujourd'hui deux volumes qui constituent un admirable modèle d'édition critique, patiente, savante, modeste, et imprimée et présentée avec art et même avec luxe.

On sait quelle singulière fortune ont connue les écrits de Chateaubriand : alors que son *René*, son *Atala*, même son *Dernier Abencérage*, et certainement son *Génie* et ses *Martyrs* ne seront plus bientôt lus que dans des anthologies et peut-être avec maint baillement, ses chances de survie vont sans doute reposer sur les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, quelques écrits non apprêtés comme le *Voyage en Amérique* et la *Vie de Rancé*, et l'*Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, récit d'un voyage effectué en 1806-1807, rédigé en 1810. Le dernier est à beaucoup d'égards le livre le plus vivant de ce pèlerin de l'éternité que fut, avant Byron, l'homme de Combourg ; il s'y livre au naturel, souvent avec naïveté ; il y place quelques-unes de ses pages de prose les plus inspirées ; et cet homme qui prétendit bailler sa vie se révèle, en voyage, animé d'une charmante joie de vivre, infatigable dans sa fringale de paysages nouveaux, d'images rajeunies, et de cette gloire qui devait, pensait-il, le faire davantage aimer.

L'*Itinéraire* n'est pas un livre simple. Vécu et senti, il l'a été dans ses plus belles parties, celles surtout qui décrivent La Grèce. Mais Chateaubriand, qui confessait un jour à sa femme son horreur pour ces "nids de rats qu'on appelle bibliothèques," a déployé à tout propos et hors de propos une érudition de fraîche date et de seconde main, qui ne réussit pourtant point à alourdir l'ouvrage. De qui s'inspire-t-il ? A qui emprunte-t-il, fort hâtivement parfois, sa science archéologique et historique ? Qu'a-t-il vu et qu'a-t-il cru avoir vu ? Qu'avait-on écrit avant lui, qu'a-t-on écrit depuis sur les sites et les monuments observés par Chateaubriand ? Quels rapprochements avec Choiseul-Gouffier ou l'abbé Barthélemy, Renan, Barrès ou Louis Bertrand, bien d'autres encore, éclairent le texte de l'*Itinéraire* ? Autant de questions auxquelles répond, après avoir impeccablement établi le texte, le commentaire précis et discret fourni au bas des pages par M. Malakis. Le commentateur n'ignore rien de l'histoire du voyage en Grèce, du pré-philhellenisme si l'on peut dire, de l'état de l'archéologie grecque vers 1810, du milieu intellectuel dans lequel baigna le chantre des ruines et le maître de l'exotisme sentimental et pittoresque. Il a refait sur les traces de Chateaubriand le voyage de l'*Itinéraire*. Sa vaste érudition ne l'a point rendu pédant. Avec finesse, il indique dans ses notes ce qui est source probable et ce qui n'est que rapprochement, et comment ce Celte qui mentait parfois comme un Grec utilisait ses sources avec désinvolture pour faire plus beau, c'est-à-dire, pour lui, plus vrai. Cette admirable édition de M. Malakis permet de comprendre beaucoup mieux le texte d'une belle œuvre sans cesser jamais d'en jouir.

Le commentateur est resté cependant trop modeste. Il promet un

troisième volume d'introduction historique et littéraire à l'*Itinéraire*, et ne s'est contenté ici que de quatre à cinq pages d'avant-propos. Il est vraiment regrettable qu'il n'ait pu, quitte à écourter quelques-uns des appendices ou des notes, incorporer à cette édition l'essentiel de ses conclusions littéraires. Après les longues années de patient labeur accordées à cette tâche, M. Malakis était certainement à même de donner à son édition critique son indispensable couronnement: un commentaire psychologique et littéraire. Comment voit et sent Chateaubriand dans ce livre? Quel usage fait-il de ses sources? Comment compose-t-il? En quoi consiste l'originalité de sa vision de la Grèce, de la lumière du ciel et du soleil, de la couleur des monuments, de leur heureuse adaptation aux sites, des habitants, plus orientaux que les Grecs de Périclès ou de Sophocle, et cependant fort proches d'Aristophane et même d'Homère? Que valent, en Syrie et en Palestine, pour le pittoresque et l'émotion religieuse, les pages de ce pèlerin que suivront bientôt Nerval, Lamartine, Renan, Loti en ces mêmes lieux? Quelle est, à l'égard de ses successeurs qui furent tous un peu ses fils, l'originalité de Chateaubriand voyageur et observateur? Enfin en quoi la magie du style, dans les pages où il sait oublier quelque fatras d'érudition empruntée, diffère-t-elle, dans l'*Itinéraire*, des passages plus somptueusement drapés de la "Nuit dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde" ou de la lettre à Fontanes sur la campagne romaine? Quelles sont ces images, et aussi ces cadences, qu'a rapportées Chateaubriand de son périple méditerranéen? On aurait aimé que M. Malakis ne nous fit pas autant attendre les réponses qu'il est si bien placé pour donner à ces questions que se pose, à tout moment, le lecteur reconnaissant, mais à demi comblé seulement, de sa très consciencieuse et très précieuse édition critique.

HENRI PEYRE

Yale University

Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne. Edited by GEORGES BONNARD. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1945. Pp. xxx + 326. (Publications de la Faculté de Lettres, VIII.)

L'importance du deuxième séjour de Gibbon à Lausanne dans la formation de l'historien. By GEORGES BONNARD. Tirage à part from *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature offerts à Monsieur Charles Gilliard*. Lausanne: 1944. Pp. 400-420.

Strange to say, the diaries that Gibbon kept between 1761 and 1764 have never been published in their entirety. The author himself used them in his Autobiography, and his literary executor, Lord Sheffield, drew upon them for his annotations to the Mis-

cellaneous Works, but chose to modify or suppress a great deal. Two recent biographers of Gibbon, D. M. Low and G. M. Young, also consulted them, but it was only in 1929 that the former published the complete text of the *Journal* in English from August 24, 1761, to the author's arrival in Paris on January 28, 1763. Now we can welcome an excellent publication by Professor Bonnard of the University of Lausanne of the portion written in French at Lausanne between August 17, 1763 and April 19, 1764, when the author departed for Italy. Gibbon's résumé of his intervening sojourn in Paris still remains to be printed.

Professor Bonnard appears to have given us a faithful and carefully edited text, and has with conscientious accuracy marked the passages where the author's pen has slipped (he was a rapid writer) and slight changes are necessary to make his meaning clear. The numerous annotations not only provide the references and quotations necessary to explain the literary and historical allusions in the *Journal*, but add to these the contribution that could best be made by a resident of Lausanne in a publication of the University: descriptions of the persons, places, and institutions important in the pleasant and refined society of that period in Lausanne.

The full publication of the *Journal* and these notes together present a more complete and balanced picture than has hitherto been possible of one of the most important periods in Gibbon's life, his months of reading and study in preparation for his trip to Italy. The vision of his great work had not yet come to him and the editor, in his article in the *Mélanges Gilliard*, amusingly shows from the several preliminary drafts of the *Autobiography* that he was not quite consistent in his statement of the place where it came; but his own record of his reading and reflection during this period reveals both the development within him of the attitudes and interests of the future historian, and an important part of his preparation, perhaps still unconscious, for that work. The *Journal* also reveals his associations, his observation of people, and the sharp, shrewd wit of a man who would never suffer fools gladly. His qualities of mind surpassed those of heart and character, as Professor Bonnard asserts, and a more just appreciation of both is now possible than Lord Sheffield intended; even so, Professor Bonnard is perhaps too severe on him in the matter of his youthful romance with Suzanne Curchod (see D. M. Low, *Journal*, lxxv-lxxvi, for another view).

Finally, the *Journal* was written in French, the language in which Gibbon composed his first published work, and in which he states that he was more at home than in his mother tongue. In 1767 he was still considering his choice of a linguistic vehicle when a letter from David Hume containing an almost prophetic description of the future diffusion of the English tongue came to influence his decision. Professor Bonnard's analysis of Gibbon's French

(pp. xv-xix) makes clear that the English classic would in French have been a great work but something less than a classic. Professor Bonnard has made a significant addition to the bibliography on Edward Gibbon.

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

Bryn Mawr College

L'Humour de Shakespeare. By LOUIS CAZAMIAN. Paris: Aubier, 1945. Pp. 233.

This book will list its distinguished author along with Stendhal, Hugo, Mézières, Taine, Montégut, Stapfer and Jusserand in the history of traditional French criticism of Shakespeare. It is absolutely opposed to the scepticism of Voltaire, Madame de Staël, and the modern Pellissier (when M. Cazamian refers to the "jeunesse dorée"—p. 49—he never mentions Rümelin).

The topic is Shakespeare's humour, and in the course of developing an excellent brief history of the background of Elizabethan humour, the author splits the term into two more or less distinct categories (which, however, often overlap in both the same play and the same character). One is native-English, realistic, farcical, popular, and explicit—all for the pit; the other is Norman-French imported, humanistic to some extent, subtle, paradoxical, and implicit. But as the book moves along, the author adds a multitude of other characteristics to the higher type of humour, all of them produced by Shakespeare in one character or another: i. e., as he grows so does his humour. At its height Shakespeare's humour has detachment (pp. 8, 34, 150, 203) or self-mastery (pp. 9, 88, 174, 177), self-effacement of the artist (pp. 30, 33, etc.), a background of thought (pp. 10, 11, 34, 38, 48, 64, 67n, 80, 118), masked expression (pp. 9, 11, 24 . . . 197), association of contrasts (pp. 10, 49, 169, 176, 181, 184, 210), dramatic irony (46, 179n-180n, 192—really what we mean simply by foreknowledge), irony in general (29, 44, 76, 104, 109, 119, 153, 160, 178, 183), truth (71, 76), a sense of the relative (107, 116, 136, 188) and of reversal of values (116, 131, 182, 218), freedom of thought (98, 104, 121, 165, 216), and even a philosophic note (pp. 111, 133, 150, 211, 213, 227), which implies the ability to think on two planes at once. The characters must of course always *live* in order to get the humour across, and it is obvious that Shakespeare's humour goes beyond the mere comic. In fact, one of the most interesting of its characteristics is what M. Cazamian calls its English sensibility (p. 71), even sentiment (p. 85). It is stimulating to see this modern Frenchman complain that the English in general couldn't 'let go,' so to speak, in humour (p. 203) because of moral repression and "the sacred rules" (p. 204), till Swift and Sterne came

along in the 18th century (p. 203). However, Shakespeare's epoch had some of the same freedom, and Shakespeare's own scope of humour was far broader than theirs.

The characters who best exhibit Shakespeare's humour are Falstaff (this chapter, ix, is the most brilliant in the book), Touchstone, Feste (chap. x) and Prospero (who unites philosophy and humour). Somewhat close to these are women like Rosalind, Beatrice, Portia and even Imogen; and men like Biron, Richard III, Puck, Mercutio and probably Autolycus. Their opposites would be the clowns, popular types in lower ranks such as Jack Cade and Sly, Juliet's Nurse, Mistress Quickly, and even popular types in higher ranks such as Prince Hal, Hotspur, and Falconbridge. So culture and the natural combine to make up Shakespeare's humour (p. 90). The last chapter of the book subtly develops the philosophic implications of the poet's humour.

Obviously, also, quite apart from the mere fulfillment of the purpose of the book the author has provided engrossing discussion of many aspects of Shakespeare's art. There are fine characterizations throughout the book—especially Fluellen, Shallow (and of men who really fall outside the author's picture, such as Slender and Malvolio), Cleopatra and Paulina. Humour characters in the Jonsonian sense he relegates to a totally subordinate position (pp. 15, 62, 222-3), and his other historical touches include: an exposition of euphuism and conceits (pp. 22-4), and of topical satire of Marlowe (p. 64), Jonson (pp. 64, 66), the Puritans (pp. 72, 77, 168); comment on the Elizabethan attitude toward the insane (p. 78) and on Elizabethan type-characters—Falstaff is a coward and butt (p. 113), Cloten moves from butt to humourist (p. 198), Jaques is a malcontent (p. 86); remarks on Shakespeare and world order (pp. 53-4—though Tillyard is not mentioned); and the source of Sly (p. 58); etc. He is not interested in textual problems—he has made his own translations throughout—though he does mention the disintegrators (p. 19), the possible authors of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (p. 71), the collaborator (Chapman) in *Troilus and Cressida* (p. 166), and the problematical texts of *2 Henry VI* (p. 53), *Taming of the Shrew* (p. 57), *All's Well* (p. 167), and *Pericles* (p. 196). Of modern sceptical criticism there is but little: Hotspur is illogical (p. 106) and so is Falstaff (pp. 113-4); and see p. 125 on Shakespeare's lack of interest in psychological coherence. All in all, then, the author has covered so many varied aspects of the plays that his book might well become a class text, though this idea will probably horrify him.

On the possible negative side the present reviewer doubts whether Sly can stir anything delicate in us (pp. 58-9). M. Cazamian is too kind to Cressida (p. 166) and too cruel to Isabella (p. 169)—an echo of Quiller-Couch? He may also echo Dover Wilson on Falstaff's winking (p. 115), and Richard III lacks a machiavel

discussion such as Iago got on p. 177. Rapt idolatry of Shakespeare runs like a major refrain throughout the book (pp. 7, 26, 28, 34, 52, 59, 61, 70, 104, 113-4 . . . 227)—reminiscent of Hugo. The author overdoes the comparison with Swift (pp. 151, 153, 173-4, 178, 203, 219, 224); even Timon is compared closely with Swift (pp. 173-4) and yet Swift at least tried to reject Timon specifically in a famous letter to Pope (Sept. 29, 1725). There is perhaps too much on symbolism—pp. 38, 42 (Launce's dog!), 48, 51, 161 (Yorick's skull), 208 (Ariel) and 210 (Caliban).

The Index is merely a list of names—mostly of Shakespeare's characters.

R. W. BABCOCK

Wayne University

Four Essays on "Gulliver's Travels." By ARTHUR E. CASE.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 133.
\$2.00.

These essays, by a scholar whose untimely death means a distinct loss to scholarship, consider the text of Swift's narrative, its geography and chronology, its satire, and its broader significance. The purpose of the first is to determine the relative merits of the Motte and Faulkner texts of the *Travels*. After a careful survey of the history of its publication in London and Dublin, as revealed in the correspondence of Swift and others, the author classifies and scrutinizes the different readings of the two texts. Though the reader may object to the value placed upon particular readings, he is not likely to disagree with Professor Case's conclusion; namely, that Motte's text of 1726, as corrected by Ford's collation with the original manuscript, is a far better basis for a text than Faulkner's version of 1735. The second essay, evidently written in answer to Professor John R. Moore's article "The Geography of *Gulliver's Travels*" (*Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Philol.*, XL (1941), 214-28), questions Moore's thesis that this element in the narrative is so confused as to suggest a definite satire on travel literature. The author shows how, by making two changes in the text (northeast for northwest in the location of Lilliput, and 20° N. 145° E. for 46° N. 177° W., the point at which Gulliver is seized by the pirates), the geography of the book falls into a definitely intelligible pattern. It is assumed that these inaccuracies were due to persons other than the satirist, with the conclusion that Swift was careful in the use of maps. While it is possible that Swift paid more attention to geographical accuracy than Moore allows, the impossible dimensions of Brobdingnag, as pointed out by the latter, indicate that the narrator was willing to sacrifice geography to satisfy the demands and maintain the scale of his allegory. To the reviewer

it seems possible that Swift was using geographical details characteristic of travel literature, not to satirize this literature, but to give circumstantial verisimilitude to his narrative. In so doing he must have consulted maps; otherwise his geography would have been much more chaotic than it is.

The third essay analyzes the satiric purpose of the story. The second and fourth books are described as ideal commonwealths like the *Utopia* and *New Atlantis*, the first is represented as an attack on the vices of the English government, and the third, as an attack on the follies of that government. Gulliver's experiences in Lilliput portray the political fortunes of Oxford and Bolingbroke during the latter half of Queen Anne's reign, with the purpose of defending them and attacking the Whigs. Professor Case would minimize the importance of the attack on science in the episodes of Laputa and Balnibari, which he views more as a satire of "learned folly" than of science. He distinguishes between scientists and projectors, a distinction with which the reviewer can hardly agree. One has only to study the history of science in the third quarter of the seventeenth century to see how closely associated projects of all sorts were with experimental science¹; and Miss Marjorie Nicolson has shown the close relationship of this third book to the science of the seventeenth century. The author seems to overestimate the part which "pure science" played in the activities of the Royal Society. In the history of the Society the utilitarian motive is everywhere apparent in the desire of the virtuosi to relate scientific knowledge to all kinds of schemes for increasing wealth and assisting artisans. Ever since the days of Hartlib the importance of experimental science for agriculture and the manual arts had been stressed.² It is true that Swift is attacking "learned folly" in this book, but he considered science the most important species of this type of foolishness. Whether Swift satirizes George I for transferring patronage from literary men to scientists, it is difficult to determine, but science rather than the King seems to be the main object of his satire.

The fourth essay looks at the *Travels* in a broader way in order to determine its main design. After a consideration of contemporary evidence regarding the composition and purpose of the work, in the course of which the activities of the Scriblerus Club are shown to have had nothing to do with its origin, it is presented as

¹ Cf. R. F. Jones, *Ancients and Moderns*, 1936, chap. vii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 212, 276. In connection with the project of extracting sunshine from cucumbers, it is interesting to note that Hartlib tells Boyle in all seriousness of a remarkable machine for catching and condensing sunbeams, a large account of which a Mr. Morian had promised him. (*Ibid.*, p. 163.) All the projects of the Grand Academy of Lagado, with the exception of the political, look directly at science, and scientists are represented as taking part even in the political projects, in which there is also a large scientific element.

a politico-sociological treatise rather than a satire, in which pictures of good governments are given in the second and fourth books, and of bad governments in the first and third. Such pictures are undoubtedly to be found, but does not man in general, in his private as well as public capacity, figure? One possible interpretation sees in the allegory of the first, second, and fourth books, an exposé of human nature based upon the philosophical dictum that man is the measure of all things, and achieved by means of a change in standards. In the first book man represented by the Lilliputians is judged by a standard twelve times larger than his own, and is revealed as weak, puny, and insignificant. In the second represented by the brobdingnagians he is measured by a standard twelve times smaller, and appears gross and repulsive. In the fourth, a shift is made from the physical to the ethical, and the wickedness and depravity of man, man as he is, are shown against an ideal ethical and rational standard, man as he should be. According to this view, in the first two books Gulliver is neither Bolingbroke, Oxford, nor himself, but only the changed standard, and in the last he is man himself stricken by the discovery of his likeness to the Yahoos.

RICHARD F. JONES

Stanford University

Elizabethan and Jacobean. By F. P. WILSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945. Pp. viii + 144. 7s. 6d.

This small but important volume is based upon the six Alexander Lectures in English which Professor Wilson delivered at the University of Toronto in 1943. Addressed to a topic that has called forth many a hasty generalization, these lectures reveal, with a scholarly thoroughness and brilliance hitherto unequalled, the manifold complexity of likenesses and differences which distinguishes Elizabethan from Jacobean literature. It is a complexity that becomes instantly discernible if one follows the method of placing the entire body of thought and literature of one period in juxtaposition with that of the other. On the other hand, observations based upon the study of selected authors or types of literature have rarely escaped the peril of proving no more than partly true—of assuming accidental differences to be essential ones.

Professor Wilson brings to his task a fine sense of proportion and a breadth of reading that encompasses sermons and scientific treatises as well as poetry and drama. In fact, the exceptional quality of his achievement in this book can be fully appreciated only by another student of the period—one who can recognize the masterly way in which he now levies upon all the specialized knowledge that the scholarly studies of the past twenty-five years have

contributed to our understanding of the age, now calls upon his own catholic reading of the Elizabethans and Jacobeans, and finally synthesizes what he has gathered in a wise critical judgment. Each chapter, as a result, is packed with succinct comments which, fired by keen insight and abundant learning, illuminate every topic discussed. If familiar but faulty generalizations are either withered or remolded in the process, so much the better.

The first chapter, as a caution to those who look for a sharp contrast between the two periods, deals with the common inheritance of Elizabethans and Jacobeans. Here the author emphasizes that neither in the tradition of learning nor in the tradition of Christian belief is there a break; in that "church-going and sermon-reading age" Elizabethan and Jacobean alike assumed a Christian universe under divine ordinance; the "beliefs and moral values of the Christian religion are not challenged." Yet, "tidy and settled as their universe may seem to us, there was room enough for wide-reaching speculation upon the nature and destiny of man. As with us, so with them, much if not most of this speculation was inherited from past ages." (p. 15)

The second chapter, "Elizabethan and Jacobean," turns from insistence on the many links that bound both periods to their past to examine the differences between the two generations as revealed in their literatures. Professor Wilson at once rejects, as "so simple that it cannot be true," the familiar contrast between the "optimism" of the Elizabethans and the "pessimism" of the Jacobeans, suggesting that the theory of the "pessimism" characterizing the reign of James is due to "a too exclusive attention to Jacobean tragedy and the poetry of Donne." After mentioning the importance of the printing press in bombarding England with an ever increasing barrage of ideas—ancient, medieval, and modern—he states:

Readers whose knowledge of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is confined to anthologies of poetry—the sonnet, the erotic poem, the pastoral, the secular lyric—may be surprised at the statement that the main pre-occupations of Elizabethans and Jacobeans alike were with religion, theological controversy, and what may be called compendiously if loosely moral philosophy, yet it was so. What distinguishes the Jacobean age from the Elizabethan is its more exact, more searching, more detailed inquiry into moral and political questions and its interest in the analysis of the mysteries and perturbations of the human mind. (p. 20)

As a corollary to this distinction, he adds:

To the new age, so often sceptical, tentative, and self-conscious in its exploration of hidden motives, a new style was necessary, a style that could express the mind as it was in movement, could record the thought at the moment it arose in the mind. (p. 26)

Thus the elaborate figures of amplification of Elizabethan rhetoric, Ciceronian "copiousness" and the roundness of the Ciceronian period made way for a new ideal of compression and of periods

seeming to evolve spontaneously rather than according to a formulated plan.

Employing these two touchstones as his principal guides, but always remembering how tenaciously the old persists along with the new, Professor Wilson, in the four remaining chapters, ranges over the literature of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, considering, in turn, prose, poetry, the drama, and Shakespeare. Again and again he sums up, in a few words striking straight to the heart of the subject, matters upon which much critical ink has flowed. Here two illustrations must suffice. For the first we may take his warning that generalizations concerning the "copiousness" of Elizabethan prose writers overlook the important fact that the rhetorical doctrine of decorum "imposed the duty of suiting the style to the theme and the audience, and led to discrepancies in one and the same writer which we do not find in modern prose, even in letters." (p. 48) The second is his comment upon the reasons for Donne's sharp break, in the 1590's, with the prevailing tradition of Elizabethan poetry:

Trying to account for the break is no doubt as complicated an affair as trying to account for life. Many have mentioned the anti-Ciceronian movement of which I have spoken and the scepticism which sometimes accompanied it; or an early dialectical training among men of a 'suppressed and afflicted religion'; or that whetstone of wit, the society of young lawyers and men about town at the third university of the realm, the Inns of Court; incidentally, we must not forget to mention Donne himself and the reaction to be expected from a man of his temperament to a rhetoric too formalized, a lyric attitude too Petrarchan. (p. 56)

Students in the future will turn to this little book for the most perceptive and judicious summing up of the varied characteristics of the literature written in England during the decades immediately before and after 1600. No critic has based his conclusions on a more diversified reading in Elizabethan and Jacobean writings, and none has so successfully avoided the temptation to oversimplify the complexity of his subject by pronouncing those neat generalizations which most critics find so seductive but which, on further analysis, usually prove to be deceptive half-truths.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON

Stanford University

Jonathan Swift. A List of Critical Studies Published from 1895 to 1945. By LOUIS A. LANDA and JAMES EDWARD TOBIN. *To which is added Remarks on Some Swift Manuscripts in the United States.* By HERBERT DAVIS. New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service, 1945. Pp. 62. \$1.25.

Readers of Swift will welcome this list of 573 books and articles on Swift and his times. It is divided into twelve sections, each

with alphabetical arrangement, on Bibliography, Biography (much the longest), General Criticism, Foreign Reputation and Influence, and the various works of Swift. Book reviews are included, and while there are no critical comments, asterisks are prefixed to nearly a hundred items "which effectively present the chief materials, problems, and interpretations of Swift scholarship in the last five decades" (p. 3). Bracketed information is occasionally given to clarify items with general or ambiguous titles, and abundant cross-references are supplied. An index of names and subjects affords further aid in locating information. The pamphlet is prefaced by a shortened version of the admirable address on Swift manuscripts in the United States delivered by President Herbert Davis before the Grolier Club on November 15, 1945.

The words in the title are not to be taken literally. The compilers have wisely gone back before 1895 to include such items as Forster's still valuable *Life*, Volume I, of 1875 and the two important biographies published by Churton Collins and G. P. Moriarty in 1893. The items listed, moreover, deal not only with Swift but with his contemporaries (such as Arbuthnot and Pope) and with the political, social, economic, and religious background; hence it contains material of interest to anyone working in the early eighteenth century. Nor is this, strictly speaking, a list of *critical* studies, but rather a broad ingathering of all sorts of material in various languages (including Spanish, Norwegian, and Hungarian): on a single page the reader will find such varied fare as Alice Meynell's five-page essay on Mrs. Dingley, a novel based on Swift's life (*The Basilisk of St. James*), Myrtle Reed's *Love Affairs of Literary Men*, an article from the *American Journal of Insanity* of 1912 on "Manifestations of manic-depressive insanity in literary genius," and an article on Swift and Stella from the *Kölnische Zeitung* of 1939.

The purpose of this little pamphlet seems indeed not so much to render serious service to the student of Swift (who presumably has the *CBEL* and the annual volumes of the *MHRA* at hand) as to display the variety of material which has appeared on Swift during the past half-century. (The making of bibliographies has been singled out recently by Professor Henri Peyre as the first of the seven deadly sins of the modern scholar.) The compilers believe that "the aura of theatricalism which long invested Swift" has now been removed (p. 3), but a perusal of the material offered in this bibliography may well cause doubts. There has, on the other hand, been much sound scholarship on Swift, particularly during the past fifteen years, which is indispensable to the student. The bibliography by Harold Williams in the *CBEL* carries the record to 1938; a supplement to 1945, with the same chronological arrangement, would be valuable. There is a certain antiquarian interest in seeing everything that has been written on a subject over a period of years; a critical bibliography, on the other hand,

will lighten the task of students by presenting the indispensable works of scholarship—the editions, biographies, and critical studies which supersede earlier works. Swift's works and especially his biography have attracted all sorts of curiosity seekers, even in the twentieth century; those who are learned in Swift and his times will do well to separate, for the uninitiated, the essential from the unimportant.

Errors are comparatively few. In No. 278 there is a serious misspelling of Rabener's name; Faguet's articles (No. 280) appeared in the *RCC*, viii², (1900), 454-62, 385-94; the article (No. 334) by F. G[rant] should be dated 1896, not 1898; No. 494: "Palaestra" is not a journal but a series of scholarly studies. Ernst Rühl's *Grobrianus in England* appeared as No. 38 in this series (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1904).

Since the present pamphlet appears to aim at completeness, the following items should be included:

- Aitken, George A. "Swift's Church Pamphlets," *Athenaeum*, December 17, 1898, p. 867.
 Evans, Frederick H. "Gulliver's Travels," *Athenaeum*, February 26, 1898, p. 279.
 Ilwof, Franz. "Volkstümliches aus Jonathan Swift," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xi (1901), 463-64.
 Lavers-Smith, H. "Swift's Political Tracts," *Athenaeum*, November 8, 1902, pp. 619-20.
 Horn, Wilhelm. "Der Kirchenschlaf bei Swift und Hogarth," *Archiv*, cxxxvii (1918), 68-70.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited with an introduction by Hardin Craig. New York: Scribner, 1924.
 Raleigh, Walter. "The Battle of the Books," in *Some Authors: a Collection of Literary Essays (1896-1916)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited by W. T. Williams and G. H. Vallin. London: Methuen, 1928.
 Barbeau, A. *Swift*. ("Les Cent Chefs-d'oeuvre étrangers.") Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1928.
 Swift. *Selections*, edited by Wilfrid J. Halliday. London: Macmillan, 1929.
 Pons, Émile. "Les Langues imaginaires dans le voyage utopique," *RLO*, x (1930), 589-607; xi (1931), 185-218.
 Jolliffe, Harold R. "Bentley versus Horace," *PQ*, xvi (1937), 278-86.
 Staerk, Willy. "Stoffgeschichtliches," *Anglia*, lxii (1938), 356-61 ("Zur Geschichte des Gulliver-Motivs").
 Zickgraf, G. *Jonathan Swifts Stilforderungen und Stil*. Diss. Marburg, 1940.

DONALD F. BOND

University of Chicago

Major American Writers, Revised and Enlarged Edition. Edited by HOWARD MUMFORD JONES and ERNEST E. LEISY. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1945. Pp. xxii + 1828. \$4.50.

This new edition of *Major American Writers* has been designed to stay strictly within the limits indicated by the title. As Professors

Jones and Leisy well point out, introductory American literature courses have recently tended too much towards omnium gatherum surveys and have as a result often merely confused students. Hence the editors have omitted seventeenth-century writers entirely and anthologized only distinctly major figures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and "typical" figures of the twentieth.

For the most part the plan is admirable. However, one would like to see some "typical" representatives of the seventeenth century; for beginning a survey of American literature without some account of the seventeenth century is truly beginning in the midst of things. One cannot take exception to the selection of major figures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But one objects to the editors' practice (made explicit in the introduction) of selecting and arranging recent materials primarily to point up the thesis of Mr. MacLeish's "Irresponsibles" essay; this is working the standard of typicality a little too hard. Still, most anthologies of this sort seem to break down with the twentieth century.

Specific editorial treatment of the figures whose work is included is much better than ordinary. There is a twenty-six page general introduction, emphasizing cultural and intellectual backgrounds. Novelists are represented, whenever possible, by short pieces. Selections from each writer are preceded by a chronology and brief general headnote, with separate headnotes for each piece; explanatory footnotes are plentiful. Bibliographies of individual figures are brief; unfortunately purely critical materials are somewhat neglected. Most unfortunately, the publishers, in the rush to reissue the volume in time to reach the current bull market, have been obliged to print it with skimpy margins and on a slick, semi-opaque paper that will not take ink; hence notation becomes a nasty problem. Even so, current trends being what they are, it is very pleasant to see an anthology and not a picture-book

ROY HARVEY PEARCE

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The Art of Newman's Apologia. By WALTER E. HOUGHTON. New Haven: Yale University Press (Published for Wellesley College), 1945. Pp. ix + 116. \$2.50.

Here is one of the finest analyses of Newman's methods as a writer in all Newman literature, which is voluminous. The author avoids the bias of the Catholic and the anti-Catholic, and seeks merely to reveal the psychological and rhetorical devices by means of which Newman produced an autobiography which is at once a masterpiece of self-revelation and a feat of reticence. In Part I

we read of Newman's "equipment": his theories of psychology ("the whole man moves," and should therefore be judged as a whole); his theories of biography (only "the real, hidden but human life, the *interior*" interested him); his powers of memory and introspection and analysis (Newman was always "vividly self-conscious," gifted in the art of introspective analysis, and conscious of anxieties and deliverances, which are, as the author points out, the real subject of the *Apologia*). The very occasion of the book was part of Newman's "equipment"—"there already lay in Newman's mind a series of long-standing, though dormant and unrelated, thoughts and attitudes which were capable potentially of combining for action, let the right stimulus occur" (p. 7). Part II is devoted to "Method and Style"—to Newman's analytical method in action; to a close and highly illuminating study of his style, including syntax, metaphor, imagery, diction, rhythm, dramatic structure; and "the motive of apology and its influence on [his] style." Here the great danger for the author was a dry and sterile summing up of verb-usages, repetitions of imagery, and other age-old academic tricks of analysis. But I know of no more absorbing discussion of the mechanics and dynamics of literary style in action than Mr. Houghton's pages on Newman's syntax (pp. 50-53), or his discussion of Newman's metaphors and imagery (pp. 53-57). The author applies to Newman's prose the kind of minute but highly imaginative exploration which Mr. Cleanth Brooks so effectively applies to poems. The result is a glimpse into Newman's mind which is, to say the least, memorable. The book ends with Part III, "Evaluation," which deals with the difficulties and limitations involved in any study of the *Apologia*, and which asks and answers two questions: Did Newman tell the truth? and How good is Newman's self-analysis? To the first question, the answer is: Yes, but the truth is "shaded a little," for Newman was "not quite so modest or fair-minded as he painted himself" (p. 97). "Although Newman exposed all of his emotional drives, he laid major emphasis upon logical arguments and thus gave an impression of himself which is not strictly true. . . . Yet the emotional factors are clearly portrayed, and the picture we do get from the *Apologia* is not, I think, very much out of focus" (pp. 97, 106). To the second question, the answer is that as an "analysis of motive, the *Apologia* is not very successful" (p. 111). Newman displays the numerous influences which explain what happened within him, but while everything seems ready for synthesis, the synthesis is never really made. "The *Apologia* simply does not disclose a 'hidden life in its acting and its processes'" (p. 108). Yet even though the motivation remains obscure, somehow in the *Apologia* "the man himself is vividly and sharply revealed . . . *Why* he did this or that may be doubtful, and often is, but we never doubt that *this* man would have acted in precisely *that* way" (pp. 110, 112).

These conclusions, together with Mr. Houghton's penetrating analysis, will be of great value to all readers who are disturbed by Frank Leslie Cross' argument that the whole drama of the *Apologia* is staged in a highly misleading fashion (cf. F. L. Cross, *John Henry Newman*, London: Philip Allan, 1933, pp. 132 ff.).

The defects of Mr. Houghton's book rise largely from its brevity. For example, we need more than one illustration of how Newman's syntax reflects his mind; the one we are given illustrates his characteristic mental oscillation, but there are other aspects of his mind manifested in the *Apologia* and these are not discussed. More might have been done with the author's charge that the usual approach to Newman's style is so academically sterile. Many writers on Newman, including the present reviewer, have catalogued his various styles, citing his Gibbonian, his Ciceronian, his Attic, his Hebraic styles, or his regal, elegiac, or academic styles. This irks Mr. Houghton, who prefers a functional approach, which is excellent in so far as it can be achieved. The fact remains, however, as even the author seems to admit on page 69, that Newman had no one style, and that we are justified, for practical and descriptive purposes, in referring to the "academic" style of the *Idea of a University*, and to the "Hebraic" style of "The Parting of Friends."

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

The Ohio State University

BRIEF MENTION

The Warning Drum: The British Home Front Faces Napoleon: Broad­sides of 1803. Edited by FRANK J. KLINGBERG and SIGURD B. HUSTVEDT. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1944. Pp. x + 287. \$4.00. The 65 broadsides here reprinted (most of them for the first time) had, when originally issued, a common purpose: to arouse the English people to a realization of the imminent danger of a French invasion. Accordingly they belong to that species of literature now called propaganda; and it is as propaganda—the unofficial propaganda of a free nation—that Professors Klingberg and Hustvedt analyze them in their able historical introduction. The collection appears to have been assembled by a contemporary enthusiast of "the school of Luttrell or Pepys." It was bought by the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in 1930; and the present editors have reprinted it in its entirety (except for five duplicates), and in its original order. The variety of the broadsides is great; their literary

merit is uniformly high—surprisingly high when compared, for example, with the patriotic ballads and broadsides of the Duke of Marlborough's time. Several of them are signed by writers of distinction, including among others Richard Brinsley Sheridan, William Wilberforce, W. T. Fitzgerald (Byron's "hoarse Fitzgerald"), Hannah More, and George Colman the Younger. Three consist wholly or in large part of patriotic quotations from Shakespeare, Massinger, and Nicholas Rowe. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the English attitude toward Napoleon in the crucial year 1803. Since it is a book that many scholars will want to consult rather than read straight through, it is regrettable that it lacks an index.

CYRUS L. DAY

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About the Round Table. By MARGARET R. SCHERER. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945. 80 pp. \$2.00. From the days of Nennius down through those of Tennyson, Masfield, and Robinson to the present, men have had their own very individual conceptions of Arthur and his various knights. *About the Round Table* surveys the artistic treatment of these figures from the earlier Middle Ages to the twentieth century and presents the material precisely as it should be offered to the average intelligent reader: by a wealth of illustration accompanied by running commentary. There are eighty-one reproductions altogether, of which thirteen are full-page. Since a number of these are from manuscripts, it is regrettable that at least a few could not have been reproduced in color; aside from viewing the originals, it is only in this way that any adequate notion of medieval illumination can be conveyed.

Something of the subject matter of this octavo brochure is suggested by the following (p. 6): "Medieval pictures of Arthur and his Knights are found most frequently in illuminated manuscripts, but they also appear in wall paintings, sculpture, tapestries, carved ivory caskets and mirror cases, enameled vessels, and stained glass." After a six-page introduction on the growth of the Arthurian legends and their treatment through the centuries, this material is considered with admirable succinctness under the following headings: Castles Painted with Arthurian Scenes, King Arthur and his Court, Tristan and Iseult, Lancelot and Guenevere, and The Holy Grail. A briefly annotated bibliography of forty-nine items completes this delightful cicerone, whose reasonable price makes it possible for every "povre scoler" to have it "at his beddes heed."

THOMAS A. KIRBY

Louisiana State University

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